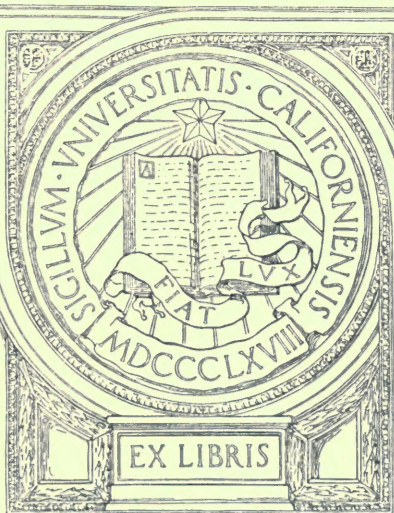




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AUTHENTIC  
CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

M. LE BRUN,

THE

*FRENCH MINISTER,*

AND OTHERS,

TO

FEBRUARY 1793, INCLUSIVE,

PUBLISHED AS

AN APPENDIX

TO

*OTHER MATTER NOT LESS IMPORTANT;*

WITH A

PREFACE,

AND

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

---

By W. MILES.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is entreated as a favour, that before any conclusion is drawn respecting the principles or the motives which decided the author of the following pages to deliver his sentiments and statement of facts to the world, at this eventful moment, that the whole may be attentively read, and impartially considered. It is his wish to avoid being misunderstood or misrepresented; and where his severity has been provoked by the fact, he trusts it will be pardoned in consideration of the motive.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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The contents of this volume, that before any  
conclusion is arrived at, the principles  
of the method, which decided the  
value of the test, are to be delivered  
to the student, and the facts to  
be worked out in the laboratory, that  
the whole may be a happy and  
fruitful one. It is the wish of  
the author, that the student, in  
multiplying the facts, has been  
enabled to see the truth, and it will be  
regretted, if the student, in the  
laboratory, does not find the truth.



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## P R E F A C E,

ADDRESSED TO MY DAUGHTER.

**I** UNDERSTAND it to be an invariable rule with mercantile men, before they retire from business, to wind up their accounts with the world, that nothing may break in upon their quiet, after they have exchanged trade, and the Royal Exchange, for lawns, fish-ponds, and serpentine walks; having never made a trade of scribbling, or of patriotism; having never offered my pen to sale, either to ministers or to their opponents, or pretended a regard for the freedom and happiness of mankind which I did not sincerely wish them to enjoy; as I never engaged in any cause but from the fullest conviction of its justice, I have no great account to settle with the world—I owe nothing more to mankind than that urbanity which they reciprocally owe to each other, and which I am ready to pay in much larger proportions than I have of late been accustomed to receive; yet, little as the account is, it is just that it should be settled before I seek,

-in the more rational charms of retirement, that enjoyment which the riot of public affairs, and the ruinous dissipations of the age, peremptorily refuse to those who engage in them. As you have ever been the object of my fondest solicitude (and it is at once my consolation and my boast, that my solicitude has been so worthily bestowed); as you have been the constant and affectionate companion of my fortunes; as we have rambled together over a considerable part of Europe, and been joint spectators of those vast and astonishing changes which have defaced those countries most, in which we enjoyed the most felicity, I feel a kind of melancholy pleasure in bringing back to your remembrance the recollection of past and happier times! You well know, that the society of a well-selected few has ever had a decided preference in my estimation to that of the many, and that a residence in the country has ever been the favourite wish of my heart. Far from being an old man, and with a sufficient flow of animal spirits to enable me to engage in the tumultuous scenes of fashionable pleasures, I prefer even solitude to a crowd, and have long cherished the idea of a retreat from its bustle. Thirteen years are elapsed since I formed and realized the same project; but it was my misfortune, perhaps yours, for our fortunes cling together, to select for my residence

dence the dominions of a prince, whose vexations were as injudicious in point of time, as they were certainly iniquitous in point of equity and right.—I do not wish to speak with asperity of crowned heads; on the contrary, it is very much my wish to respect them; but this can no longer be done than while they respect themselves.

To talk of homage to crowns and coronets, when they only decorate crimes or imbecility, is an affront to the understanding, and implies great ignorance or greater servility.—My loyalty is not of that stamp.—It is limited like my faith, and reason must mark the boundary: the only boundary that secures us from the inroads of civil or ecclesiastical tyranny.

The precipitate and ill-advised measures of Joseph the Second could not fail rendering the Revolution in America an interesting and instructive lesson to his dissatisfied subjects, and on our arrival in the Low Countries, in January 1783, I found it had already become an object of study, as well as admiration, and very likely to become an example of successful imitation in the Netherlands, if the Emperor, blind to his own interest, persevered in vexing the people with experiments which varied on the arrival of

each courier from Vienna, \* and which deprived them of all hope of respite from the wild vagaries of a mind distempered beyond the lunacy of Bedlam. Experiments in government are at all times extremely hazardous, and require not only a perfect knowledge of human nature, and of the various complicated interests, that are knit and interwoven in the very frame and texture of civil society, but a well-digested knowledge of its relative interests, and the whole minutiae of its intercourse with foreign nations, conducted with great discretion,

\* Many a morning was consumed during the whole period of a reign, short, melancholy, and inglorious, in writing edicts, many of which never came into existence or even reached the knowledge of a third person. The sketching of ordinances and regulations for every department in his widely extended dominions, occupied no inconsiderable portion of Imperial time.---No clerk in office could have laboured more assiduously at his desk, than the emperor at his table. Sometimes in his palace, sometimes at General Lacy's, where he was accustomed to go, and whom he principally consulted. If a stranger had entered the apartment, it would have been the General to whom they would have respectfully bowed, as the sovereign of a great empire. Indolently reclining in an easy chair, with his two feet thrust almost into the fire, this veteran occupied one side of the table while his royal master, with indefatigable industry, scribbled edicts at the other. These were instantly submitted to the inspection of the General, and many of them without ceremony, and without saying a word, were almost as instantly destroyed.---It would have been fortunate for the sovereign and the people, perhaps, if the whole had been thrown into the fire.

and



and arising from the circumstances of the moment, rather than from a wanton and childish impatience to exercise a power delegated for purposes very different, than to enable the possessor to make baubles and playthings of men's patience, interests, and happiness.

Amidst the many errors of a brain disorganised by the multitude of its projects, the most fatal to the credit of the Emperor's understanding, was that of expecting a tree to bear fruit before it was planted, and to this fatal error may be attributed all the devastations with which a country, for the most part a garden in appearance, and in fact, an unexplored mine, has unhappily been afflicted. As I foresaw, so it has happened, and if my correspondence has been thought worth preserving by those who solicited it, and who were bound by their situations, as well as from the circumstance of having requested it, to have respected it, they will find it predicted in the summer of 1787, that *the Austrian Netherlands and Principality of Liege would ultimately fall under the dominion of France; that the British Channel, in the event of such a revolution, would lose its name; that the enemy, possessed of Brest at the west end, and of the Scheldt at the east end, the most serious consequences would inevitably follow from such an extent of sea coast, and the acquisition of so rich a territory, and of so*  
much

*much population to the maritime force and trade of Great Britain."* It was at that epocha that I conceived the project of preventing so great a calamity by giving independence to the Leige Country, and the Austrian Netherlands, without the intervention of France, from a conviction that as such an event was more than probable it was the interest of Great Britain, that they should owe their emancipation to her generous interference, rather than to the intrigues of the Court of Versailles. A very favourable opportunity presents itself in the Autumn of the very year that I took the liberty to suggest it; but a much better occasion arose from the events that took place in the winter of 1789, when this great change might have been accomplished without the effusion of blood, and this country have been benefited by a measure which, under the circumstances that have since produced it, may become altogether as mischievous, as in the former instance it would have been advantageous. The neighbourhood of five millions of people, industrious and rich in resources, renders their friendship or enmity an object of importance. The former was offered to us in 1790.\* The policy of our Court thought prudent to reject it, and I am much afraid that it did not suf-

\* Vide Appendix. A.

ficiently deliberate on the consequences of refusing it, at a moment when a powerful rival was a candidate for the same distinction, and under circumstances that should have awakened us to reflection. This friendship, prodigally offered to us, has since been given to the nation with which we are at war, and who were strenuous suitors at the above period for the union which we spurned. Time will prove how far that policy was founded in wisdom or in indiscretion. I appeal to the acknowledged candor of a nobleman (deservedly beloved by all those who have the felicity of his acquaintance, for the urbanity of his manners) to do justice to the well-intentioned zeal with which I supported the measure, I was authorised to propose early in February 1790, when I entered fully into the detail of the many political and commercial advantages likely to arise from declaring the independence of the Low Countries, and the Principality of Liege, under the guarantee of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland. It was through the channel of his department alone that the offer could with propriety be submitted to the Cabinet, and there my mission ended. I trust it will not be deemed a breach of confidence, when I state that his Grace was decidedly of a very different opinion to the one I entertained at the time, and in which I have been confirmed by every subsequent event

that

that relates either to the Austrian Netherlands, or to the war, which I am fully persuaded would not have happened, if this country had cheerfully accelerated a measure that was tendered to them for acceptance, and to which it will be compelled to assent, for it has no longer an alternative. We shall then, perhaps, be enabled to estimate what we might have gained, by what we shall most probably lose. The very sincere personal respect that I have for the character of the Duke of Leeds will ever make me regret that I should have differed in opinion with his Grace, who thought that the Austrian Netherlands ought not to be taken from under the dominions of the Emperor. But connecting my opinion (no otherwise important or worthy of notice) than as it is connected with the higher objects of national honour and prosperity, I feel consoled for the disappointment, by the events that have since justified that opinion, and which events might have been foreseen and guarded against. Connecting the Revolution in the Low Countries with the happiness and freedom of five millions of people, whose interests and repose ought certainly to have counted for something in the cabinet of princes. I cannot but rejoice in their complete emancipation from the tyranny of the House of Austria, and the no less vexatious tyranny of the Imperial tribunals.



If the Duke of Leeds spoke the language of the Cabinet, when he honoured me with an interview, in 1790, I will take upon me to affirm, from authentic papers in my possession, that it was under a delusion, which has very materially and very deeply affected the power and commercial interests of the country ; and this delusion is the more extraordinary, as the Minister had been apprised in time of the little dependence to be placed in the good faith of the King of Prussia, or that of his ministers, who were necessitous adventurers (*parvenus*), to the full as destitute of principle as their master, and as venal as he was faithless. At this epoch (1790) it was the declared policy of this court that the Low Countries should be restored to the House of Austria, and it was at this epoch that the King of Prussia, that stain and dishonour to royalty ! acting or *pretending* to act in concert with the British Cabinet, was avowedly of a different opinion.

He had been called upon, as one of the co-directors of the Circle of Westphalia, to furnish his quota of troops for the purpose of enforcing a decree of Wetzlaar, \* to which the Liegeois had

\* It will be necessary to inform those who are not acquainted with the constitutions of the Germanic Empire, that each Circle has three directors, to whom the Imperial Cham-

had refused obedience. In compliance with this requisition a Prussian army entered Liege. The conduct of the Court of Berlin towards the people of that country, the perfidy of its sovereign, and the venality of his ministers and agents in that transaction, I have in reserve for

her at Wetzlaar, or the Aulic Council at Vienna, address their requisition for troops, whenever it becomes necessary to enforce, by military execution, an obedience to their decrees. After a revision there is no appeal from either of these tribunals; and whenever prince or people are refractory an army is directed to march and coerce them into submission, the whole expences of which are levied on the offending party, and in a manner to make them repent the consequences of their resistance. It was for this purpose that a body of Prussians, under the command of General Schlieffen, and strong enough to controul those sent by the other directors with the same intent, marched to Liege, and pretending to espouse the cause of the revolters, delayed the execution of the decree until the political objects of the Court of Berlin were accomplished. I cannot immediately find the particular paper, respecting the arrival of M. de Schlieffen at Liege from Maeftricht, where a fractured leg had detained him; but I believe his army consisted of about seven thousand men, who made a point of treating with marked contempt the Palatine troops, and shewing an abhorrence for the mission on which they were jointly employed. They even allowed of hostilities between these troops and the patriots of Liege without interfering, and partook of the triumphs of the latter. After this farce had been played as long as it suited the convenience of his Prussian Majesty, his army was ordered to withdraw, and the deluded people of Liege, abandoned to their fate, were delivered over to their merciless persecutors, to be a second time pillaged and scourged for a resistance founded in justice.

a future

a future day. I was on the spot at the time, and from my intimacy with those who were the victims of his matchless duplicity, I had access to all the papers and voluminous correspondence on that occasion, and can well appreciate the character of a man, whose guilt and treachery, more than infernal, would make the devil change colour and appear white. Would to heaven that I could punish them as well ! The approach of an army so near to the frontiers of Brabant and France, excited alarm in the former, and jealousy in the latter. The ostensible reason of its march was in a great measure contradicted by the protection publicly given by the Prussian general and ministers to the offending party at Liege, and by the number of agents which the Court of Berlin employed at Bruxelles at the time. France could ill bear to see the lady, whom she wooed with unremitting ardour, on the part of being wrested from her by the intrigues of a sovereign, with whom it would have been imprudent, at that time, to have quarrelled. The French had recourse to cabal, and all Bruxelles resounded with reports that the King of Prussia had a design upon the Low Countries, and meant to invade it. The known projects of Van Eupen and Vandernoot gave credit to these reports, and they, in their turn, excited such clamours against the French, that

it became hazardous for them to speak on public affairs. Those who offered to serve in the patriot army were refused ; and in order to discredit the reports in circulation, to the disadvantage of the Court of Berlin, the agents in Brabant and Flanders were authorized to contradict them in the fullest manner.\*

I have rapidly retraced some of these occurrences which forced me from the tranquillity of retirement into the vortex of public affairs ; and in tracing them the memory involuntarily marshals into form the whole series of events in chronological order which have marked the full period of our residence on the continent.

This is but a gloomy occupation for a mind like mine. It is little else than rambling among tomb-stones, and reading of epitaphs ; it is roving through an immense and dreary cemetery of departed friends, whose names strike incessantly on my bewildered senses, and subtract much from the pleasures of existence ; of friends, my dear child, who were once as we are, whose wild but inoffensive pranks stand blazoned to my view, and whose merry jests, that set the table in a roar, still vibrate on my deluded ear ; when we have survived those with whom we

\* Vide B in the Appendix.



have lived in the fondest intercourse of mutual affection, who have been the partners of our transports and of our sorrows, whom we have felt torn from our affectionate embrace, and whose full value can only be estimated by their loss ; it is then that life loses one of its strongest attractions, and that the mind, in its direful conflict, with unavailing grief, has full occasion for all its vigour and exertion to fortify itself against despondency.

How hard is the lot of humanity ! when our best refuge from despair, under the pressure of the severest and most bitter of misfortunes, is that of stating our misery against the misery of others, in the poor and comfortless hope of finding our sum of woe less than that of our neighbours ! Combining what you know of my taste, habits, and inclinations, with all these mournful reflections, in which my mind, become the assassin of its own tranquillity, delights to rove, you will not be surprised at my impatience to quit the metropolis for the country, and exchange activity for indolence. I want repose, and I am the more desirous of the respite I crave, not only for the purpose of arranging a voluminous correspondence, but that whenever my resurrection into political life may be necessary, I may come forward, not only recruited with spirits, but prudence, and appear

*a new*

a *new man* to those who thought the *old* one too warm and impetuous.

Whenever a man profits by what he reads, he has no right to complain of the price of the book. The memoirs of Mr. Gibbon, so dear to every body else, has been a very valuable purchase to me. I am a greater gainer by it than even Lord Sheffield, who, converting his friend into a mint, has coined three thousand pounds from his dross. The note at page 104. vol. 1. was of more value to me than the whole work. It completed the reformation I had long proposed, by shewing me my own character most accurately drawn. There is to be sure that in it which might make any man proud; but there is also that in it which must make every man blush. The mirror spoke truth; and ashamed of my likeness, I resolved to amend. It shall, therefore, be my care to check the intemperance of a mind that has hitherto been too warm in the pursuit of right ever to think of expediency; I will profit by the sober council of those who really wish well to me, and even profit by the malevolent impertinence of time-serving writers, with names or without, who would praise me, with the same facility that they have abused me, if they were paid for it. I am aware of the reproaches I may incur from both these descriptions

tions of writers by speaking on my own subject ; but the custom of the theatre authorises the performer, on his taking leave of the stage, to speak his farewell, and in my case it is become necessary to say something in extenuation, at least, if not in vindication of that warmth which has occasionally marked my writings, and which has unfortunately been misunderstood by some, and as maliciously represented by others. This is the account that I have to settle with the world. When men are agreed as to the merit or demerit of others, the degree of admiration in which they hold the one, and of aversion in which they regard the latter, will depend, in a great measure, on the force and vivacity of their imaginations. Men, whose minds are strong and ardent, will naturally express themselves with warmth, and if the matter appears to them enormous, with intemperance, in order to prevent the repetition of what they conceive to be crime, and crime, perhaps, of a very dangerous tendency. We are apt to express as we feel, and this applies no less to the man, whose mind is cold and phlegmatic, than to the man who is animated and impatient. The one, constitutionally indifferent to consequences, and regardless of posterity, passes a cold unimpressive reproof that is more likely to encourage than to repress the vice it condemns. Both extremes are bad, but surely the former

has

has a claim to indulgence in consideration of the motive, and may possibly produce the desired effect. It may put guilt to shame, and prevent the repetition of crimes ; but the latter never can. In a word, I have, at all times, expressed the abhorrence that I have really felt, and my conduct has corresponded with my professions. I have ever opposed, with all the ardour peculiar to my character, the doctrine of equality in the perverted and impracticable sense given to it by bad men for very bad purposes ; I never was an advocat  for the promulgation of abstract principles among a class of men, barely rational, and whose intellects are not likely to be improved by education ; for where the mind wants comprehension, culture is useless ; yet though it would be imprudent, and, perhaps, not very humane, to engage them in the investigation of matters foreign to their pursuits, and certainly hostile to their interests and their happiness, I cannot approve of that enormous disproportion between animals of the same species ; do not mistake me—I do not wish to see the elephant destroyed, because he consumes more grass than a sheep ; but I will ever strenuously contend that the sheep has an equal right to graze with the elephant ; and as the earth is spacious enough to afford sufficient pasture for both, why abridge the latter of his little portion ? Let the peer and the peasant vegetate and ambulate



bulate this globe happily and cheerily together, let them respect and not insult each other, policy as well as humanity dictates this language ; for when men are made to feel a difference of condition they are apt to reason on the cause, not with a view to acquiescence, but to complaint and resistance, besides where the disproportion\* is in the extreme, it engenders vice ; poverty is the parent of crime as well as of meanness, and hunger will ever cancel the obligations of morality : the laborious multitude are, *par état*, excluded from partaking of those luxuries which grace the tables of the affluent, nor do they require such expedients to sharpen their appetites ; but though they cannot reach, and perhaps do not desire dainties, they should not be forced to feel too sensibly the pressure of want, for it must lead to consequences, against which the wisdom of government cannot too cautiously guard. Peasants are not over-gifted with capacities any more than they are with fortune.

Beggars alike in intellect and purse,  
 Purblind they seek their homely, happy course,  
 In rags and tatters, friendless and forlorn,  
 Objects at times of pity and of scorn ;  
 From their hard toil the state receives support,  
 And e'en its safety in the last resort ;  
 \* In peace or war, the peasant's ample aid,  
 In wealth or courage to the world's display'd ;

\* Vide C in the Appendix.

By them the whole, the vast machine moves on,  
 And as the father toil'd, so toils the son;  
 Cursed with no foresight, senseless of the past,  
 Unmoved they hear loud faction's impious blast;  
 Passive and dull, submissive to each law,  
 And, yok'd like oxen to the team they draw.

I do not pretend to be a poet, but I am apt to ramble, truant like, sometimes at the call of the muses, and play at the foot of Parnassus without daring to climb the hill. No great violence is necessary to engage my mind from graver and more essential pursuits.—I anticipate the summons and obey it. There is certainly something very bewitching in poetry. There is a melody in measured language that argues a correct ear. I would willingly persuade myself that it argues a correct mind, and that a love of verse is necessarily connected with a love of right; in my own instance I know it is, and that the latter has ever been my stimulus and guide in all the political transactions in which I have taken part; had the considerations of self-interest influenced me at any period of my life, it is fair to presume that my pen would have fetched as good a price in the market as that of others. I have seen the prodigality of former times. I saw a man, whose melancholy catastrophe forbids me to mention his name, placed by a corrupt minister at one of the revenue boards, for a publication, the object of which was to turn the argu-  
 ments

ments of opposition into ridicule, by anticipation, a pamphlet that evidently tended to lower the legislature in the public opinion. If Lord North had preferred the dignity and honor of the House of Commons to the preservation of his place, he would not have rewarded, but punished the profligacy of the writer who had dared to insult the dignity of parliamentary debate. A minister's favor upon such terms is too extravagant for me to aspire to ; it is a price that I cannot afford to give ; it is a price to which no man will accede who knows the full value of reputation, and I have philosophy enough not to regret what cannot be obtained without a surrender of that which is dearer to me than any thing in the gift of the crown. I am very far from insinuating that the present minister expects any such concession, nor do I believe that he would be pleased to see that part of the House of Commons which is the most hostile to him, silenced by means which have a tendency to lessen in the remotest degree, that respect which is due to the whole. I do not believe that Mr. Pitt wishes to have the aid of any writer by any other line or measurement than that of the constitution, and his speech on the debate last November, respecting the pamphlet of Mr. Reeves, is my voucher to the world for the justice of that opinion, even if I had no other evidence of the fact ; but I have heard him hold the same lan-

guage, and profess the same principles in private. The two secretaries of the treasury have invariably adhered to the same line of conduct in the different conferences that I have had with them; they have repeatedly declared it never was the wish of government, that any man should support its measures by a sacrifice of principle, and I have every reason to believe, from the general tenor of their conduct, as far as I have been a spectator or concerned, that the practice they have observed, has corresponded with their professions. I am not afraid in making this declaration, of being reproached with a fervility, of which, it is well known, I am incapable. My zeal in support of Mr. Pitt's administration when he came into office, arose entirely from the strong attachment I felt and still feel for whatever is connected with the honour, prosperity, and independence of my country. My zeal arose from a conviction of his superior talents and integrity, and that a permanent administration could alone at that epoch (1784) save the empire. We were then at a distance from our native shore, but distant or near, my country, you know, has ever been uppermost in my thoughts, and if I had entertained a different opinion of the minister, I should, with the same ardor and freedom, have declared against him as I have declared for him. This may not perhaps be the language of a prudent man, yet I feel it to be that of an honest one,

and



and that contents me. When I could no longer approve of his measures I declined to support them, and subsequent events have separated us for ever.\* I have no favor to expect from Mr. Pitt, I certainly will not ask any; but as I am making up my account, not with the minister, for that has been closed since 1794, but with the world, it is a justice due to the rectitude and magnanimity of Mr. Pitt to acknowledge that he disclaimed every wish to be supported but on constitutional principles.—On these principles alone I have supported him with more warmth than discretion I own, for among the many errors of my life, and indeed the principal one, is that of my espousing with ardor whatever I undertake.

It is my misfortune to feel an interest as great as if my life was at stake in all questions of moment to the general happiness of mankind, and under the dominion of a zeal which may have misled my judgment, I may as frequently have given offence; but as the offence is in the intention more than in the act, I hope for the indulgence due to a mind very apt to take fire on beholding crime triumphant, and impatient when engaged in the pursuit of right. I feel this apology due as an atonement for my warmth, where my

\* Vide D in the Appendix.

warmth has been imprudent or unjust. It has ever been my opinion that whatever is seriously mischievous to the interests of society, ought to be censured with the utmost severity, and if I am wrong in this opinion, it is an error of the understanding, and not of the heart. Although I have lived much and mixed much with mankind—Although I have received much the same education, I am inclined to think that I have drawn very different conclusions from the precepts administered to us in early life, and that my principal error has been “*d’en avoir pris chaque article trop à la lettre.*” Experience has taught me, that the professions of men are not to be construed, nor the productions of genius translated literally; yet, though this latitude is perfectly just in the latter instance, I deny the utility of it in the former, and should be ill disposed to think favourably of those, who would either exact or contend for it. My idea is, that men should be what they profess themselves to be. One moral for practice, and another for precept, is subversive of all morals, and it is no less subversive of morals, when the higher orders in society brave the public opinion, and impudently dispense with what they exact from others. In all the great moral duties of life, a perfect accordance should prevail. If one man claims exemption, another has an equal right to dispensation. To prevent this irregularity, and its consequences,

sequences, princes should be curbed as well as peasants, and deeply impressed with this truth I have in some instances, perhaps, exceeded the limits of that temperance so convenient to the insidious pursuits of bad men, and so acceptable to those whose cold lethargic blood, drowsy almost to stagnation, paces slowly through their veins, and renders them alike incapable of interest or exertion.

I have no objection to make every reasonable allowance for follies that are inoffensive or unimportant. But the vice that impudently braves public justice, and exacts homage from virtue; that gigantic vice, which from the proud and insulting pre-eminence of rank, has the audacity to set the magistrate and the laws at defiance, and that we know to be as incorrigible in its nature, as it is mischievous in its consequences—That description of vice I will ever maintain ought to be felled to the ground by the club of Hercules. What! shall we court, fawn, and attend like a gentleman usher upon vice in embroidery, while we loath, detest, and consign to the gibbet, without pity or remorse, the vice that we behold in rags? Shall the unhappy female, driven by necessity, not lust, to the bitter and humiliating resource of prostitution, skulk in holes and corners, afraid of the beadle and his lash, while the dignified prostitute, more fortunate

nate

nate and infinitely atrocious, confident of protection, and honoured where she should be spurned, triumphs in her turpitude, and insults neglected virtue with impunity? Shall the tame cuckold, proud of his dishonour, turn bawd to his wife for favour or for hire, and lending her first to my lord, and then to his Highness, opening an account current with infamy, himself the meanest of the firm, dare to claim homage as his right; while the man, who from a sense of public duty, holds out such treble guilt to public scorn (anxious to save a falling empire from destruction) is branded as libellous or disaffected? O, shameless, ruinous inconsistency! subversive of all government as well as of all morals, and that cannot be defended even by those who practise or applaud it. If, in defiance of decorum, duty, and public opinion, the titled harlot will play the wanton; if at her time of life she will allow her hot blood to run riot in her veins, and scandalize her age and sex, let the rank that she unworthily holds in society be deemed an aggravation of her infamy, and while an indignant world hails her strumpet as she passes, let her feel those pangs which she has basely inflicted on virtuous innocence!

But of what avail, just Heaven! are truth, argument, and eloquence combined, against the



more powerful counteraction of self-interest, habit, and the vitiated manners of the times !

If I should be deemed reprehensible for having expressed, in strong language my abhorrence of offences, which, by their tendency to bring one part of the constitution into hazard, endanger the whole ; if it should be deemed criminal to have reprobated, with an indignation proportioned to the magnitude of that danger, the flagrant misconduct of one description of men, and the base servility of another, it is in vain for an obscure unprotected individual like myself, to resist the impetuous ruthless torrent, vice and virtue must have exchanged places, and I am content to share the beggared fortunes of the latter !

# ERRATA.

## PREFACE.

- Page vi Line 12 *read* presented for presents  
 — viii — 14 *read* dominion for dominions  
 — xvii fifth line of the verse *read* derives for receives

## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

- 1 — 6 for or *read* of  
 — 51 — 9 for ability *read* inability  
 — 53 — 19 for counteract *read* contracted  
 — 56 — 12 for rights *read* right

## REVIEW, &c.

- 70 — 8 *read* transferred it  
 — 70 — 15 for stain *read* tinge  
 — 70 last line but one *read* remembered for remember  
 — 76 — 16 at the note, *read* are for is  
 — 89 — 10 *read* its for their  
 — 91 — 9 for person *read* friend

## APPENDIX.

- 60 for reducing government *read* to reduce  
 — 70 for declaratant *read* declarant  
 — 113 — 4 from the bottom, for Pitt *read* Pit  
 — 113 — 9 from the top, for marches *read* démarches,—*et*  
     *dictées pour dicté*  
 — 113 — 18 from do. for puisse *read* puit  
 — 127 — 3 from the bottom, for à porter *read* à portée  
 — 127 — 2 from do. for ji *read* Je  
 — 127 — do. for succinèt et de leurs *read* succinète de leurs  
 — 128 — 4 from the top, for nourrer *read* nourrir  
 — 128 — 7 from do. for pasture *read* pasteur  
 — 128 — 11 from do. for un raison *read* eu raison  
 — 128 — 22 from do. for qui *read* que  
 — 129 — 5 from the top, for Chatelain *read* Chretien  
 — 129 — 15 from do. for sorteroit *read* sortirait  
 — 131 — 14 from do. for tender *read* theer  
 — 131 — 22 from do. for ought *read* was  
 — 132 — 11 from do. for the limits, *read* the same limits  
 — 132 — 12 from do. for as they have done to the depart-  
     ments, *read* as to the departments.

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The author of the following pages also requests the favour of his readers to pardon the numberless inaccuracies with which this publication abounds; it was produced in three weeks, and the necessity of perpetually referring to various manuscript papers, which he has never had leisure to arrange, and which could not be confided to the inspection of others, joined to his anxiety to produce what he wishes to be considered as an epilogue to all his political labours, before the meeting of Parliament, are the best, and, indeed, only excuses he has to offer for the incorrect manner in which he has given this volume to the world.

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*PRELIMINARY*

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

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**I**F men would reason from facts, and not from prejudice; if they would allow their judgments to take the lead of their passions, and in consideration of those who may come after them, combine the interests of posterity with their own, they would learn to form a right estimate of things, and prevent the necessity of those violent commotions, which arming the son against the father, and brother against brother, dissolve all the endearing ties of friendship and affection, and plunge the civilized world into a state of anarchy, infinitely more savage and deplorable than that of nature; but the mild dictates of reason, and the equitable suggestions of truth, appear to have little influence on the conduct of human affairs, and man, a phenomenon almost to his Creator, perpetually at variance with himself, and in constant hostility with his judgment and dearest interests, seems destined by fate to

have what is at once a blessing and a curse, perverted or abused without the resolution to amend what is alternately his pride and shame, his happiness and misery ! It is owing to this abuse and perversion of the understanding, that the progress of all governments has been arrested in their course to that state of perfection of which they are unquestionably susceptible, whenever they shall be founded in principle, and conducted with equity. It is owing to the same cause that governments, in many instances, have been subverted and destroyed ; and to this account may be placed the scandalous alacrity with which a considerable portion of mankind bend their pliant necks to the disgraceful yoke of passion or of prejudice, and that a portion no less considerable, but far more abject, sacrifice all that is noble or dignified in manhood, to the temporary pursuits of the moment, without any regard to the duty they owe to themselves, or others, and in defiance of the odium, derision, and contempt which never fail to accompany their turpitude and meanness ; but for this wide and dangerous departure from the fixed principles of right, the different civilized nations of the earth might look confidently forward to centuries of domestic peace and felicity. The legislator would be consoled in his descent to the grave, by the reflection that his labours, less perishable than himself, would not be destroyed, but meliorated  
by

by time, and that each successive generation, profiting by the errors of that which preceded it, would improve its inheritance, and bequeath a richer legacy to posterity than it received. Such is the language of philosophy and of truth ! It is the unavailing protest which common sense and common honesty incessantly enter against the ruthless inconsistencies of men in all ages, to whom the public interest has been confided. Unhappily the few who have the virtue to spurn a subjection as ruinous as it is disgraceful, are of too little account in society to influence its decisions or its destiny ; neither their precepts nor example are of any avail. Their voice is too feeble to be heard, their power too trifling to be felt, and however much they may suffer from the delusion, they must abide by the event. It is held to be an instance of piety and resignation to submit without repining to those heavy calamities which are inseparable from our nature ; but it requires something more than the passiveness of resignation ; it requires the combined efforts of religion and of heroism, to bear with fortitude and in silent submission the various calamities produced by the wild projects of men, whom fortune, not merit, has invested with the fate of nations, and whose career through life can only be traced by the desolation they have occasioned.



It is, however, a consolation to the wounded mind, smarting under the double pressure of private and public misery, that though vanity and ambition, the impious rivals of Omnipotence ! would fashion us to their will ; that though millions bleed at their fell command, and the beauty and harmony of the universe seem inverted as it were by their pernicious influence, that the superintending vigilance of Heaven, in mercy to oppressed humanity, counteract their iniquitous designs, and defeat their foul projects, by the very means that are employed to obtain them ! Every page in which the great contests of this world are recorded, presents this awful, this instructive lesson to mankind, but the strong hold taken of their faculties by immediate pursuits, often trifling, sometimes criminal, and as temporary as they are trifling and atrocious, renders them alike insensible and indifferent to future events. Every struggle into which mankind at different periods have been forced by oppression (and history does not furnish one solitary instance to the contrary) has finally terminated in favour of liberty, while tyranny, at all times a curse and burthen to itself, every where humbled, defeated, and abashed, has never had a single triumph to console itself with in misfortune or disgrace, whenever the cause between despotism and freedom has been fairly brought to an issue,

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What a misfortune it is, that those well attested instances, so numerous in history, and so animating to those, who, sensible of their rights, are ever ready to assert them, should be of such little benefit to those who are the most interested in attending to the admonitions they convey ! If the evidence of history, however, should appear doubtful to some, and be denied by others ; if the proofs which this country, "*the classic land of liberty*," (as the elder Mirabeau called it) exhibits of the fact should be contested, we have the stronger and unequivocal testimony of experience to convince and guide us ; an appeal may be made to events still fresh in our memory, which belong to our own age and nation. An appeal may be made to events still more recent, and which are perpetually occurring in the great and momentous struggles in which France is actually engaged. They abundantly and most woefully demonstrate those truths which I would willingly bring home to every man's feeling and recollection, and most particularly to those, whose immediate duty it is to preserve the present order of things, whose particular interest and personal safety imperiously call on them to avoid whatever has a tendency to revive those contests, which consigned one sovereign to the scaffold, and another to beggary and exile. The history of the last century contains many useful lessons ; lessons that ought to

to be studied with a close and unremitting attention, in conjunction with those which press daily on our notice, and which may be considered as comments upon the texts of our ancestors, differing, however, very materially from all other comments, inasmuch as they are stronger, less prolix, and more conclusive than the texts they illustrate.

It is in the nature of man, in all transactions that relate personally to himself, to prefer certainty to risk, and where he can only possess a life interest at the best, it is policy, as well as justice in the government he supports, to avoid whatever may endanger the security. Among the most valuable of our possessions may be reckoned that protection which he derives from equal laws faithfully administered, and whatever tends to weaken that protection, or to bring it into hazard, renders his property less valuable, and takes from the various felicities of domestic life, the better part of their attractions. The tenure by which they are held is precarious, indeed, whenever the government, weak or vexatious, disturbs his enjoyments, or exposes them to the inroads of civil tumult and wild uproar.

He expects (and is entitled to it, for it is one of the implied conditions of the social compact) a better pledge for the peaceable enjoyment of  
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all the comforts of his existence, than the discretion of others ; and when this cannot be assured to him, or when either guilt or imbecility in the executive power, excite distrust, or provoke combinations among the people for the preservation of their unalienable rights, his respect and attachment to a government no longer adequate to the purposes of its institution, will cease ; his submission will be a matter of necessity rather than of choice ; and his loyalty, deprived of all the wholesome stamina produced by the invigorating influence of self-interest, confidence, and affection, will become converted into a leaven of the most mischievous quality. This is not the place, nor is it my intention at present, to investigate the causes which led to the two great revolutions in the last century.

But that awful interval between the restoration of Charles, and the final expulsion of James ; that interval which displayed a kind of watery sunshine prosperity on royalty for a moment ; I mean that interval in which these misguided princes, with a parliament at their devotion, vainly imagined they had crushed the proud spirit of liberty in Britain, and established their arbitrary dominion throughout this glorious happy island, is perhaps of all periods in British history the most instructive to kings and ministers.



nisters. It is a period that contains a world of useful, practical knowledge, and which I defy either prince or people to read with indifference, or without profit. The one will be taught to guard against the fallacy of appearances, and to behold irretrievable ruin to himself and family, at the very instant that a gaudy exterior announces the most perfect security around him. He will learn in the catastrophe of the last of the Stuarts, the very little protection that an abject venal parliament, and a mercenary army, can give him in the moment of general discontent, and learn to respect those rights which he cannot infringe with impunity ; while the people, no less instructed by events than their sovereign, will discover in the conduct of their ancestors, that a remedy for all the evils of despotism may be found in the resources of courage and unanimity. These truths, so interesting at all times, are rendered still more so by the circumstances of the moment, nor can they fail to strike most forcibly on the senses of every man who reflects on what he reads, and who is not a careless observer of events. The misfortune is, that history makes but a feeble impression on the human mind, and that even experience cannot teach men wisdom : if they would avail themselves of every advantage that history and experience offer to their acceptance, the sum total of crimes, blunders, and misfortunes, which embitter their

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existence,

existence, and desolate the world, would be diminished, and our civil institutions ultimately obtain that force and solidity which can alone ensure them a permanency ; it is from the full conviction I feel, that in proportion as men acquire a perfect knowledge of their true interests, they will practise right, in preference to wrong, that I wish knowledge to be universally diffused, and the morality we practise to be in strict conformity to the morality we profess. When such an example is given to mankind, and they become every where instructed in what it most behoves them to know, the security they possess for the full enjoyment of all the comforts of their existence in civilized society, will be unquestionable, and the machine of government thus mounted and regulated will not require the turbulent remedy of revolutions to correct its abuses or defects. The aphorism that mankind are happy in proportion as they are ignorant, is an error which every man's experience, if properly understood, must refute. It was the base expedient of an overbearing priesthood, to obtain dominion over the mind, and hold it in eternal subjection. The film that obscured the mental vision of the bigot in the 15th century, was removed the very instant that our ancestors, provoked by the exactions, and scandalised by the profligacy of churchmen, examined into the justice and legality of their pretensions. Men

are very apt to assert their rights whenever they understand them. Our delusion in respect to ecclesiastical matters began to subside at the period of the Reformation, but our advances to civil liberty are of a later date. They were necessarily postponed until the mind, emancipated from the thralldom of monks, became capable of exerting its powers. It was not until the close almost of the 17th century, that the ignorance and delusion which envelopped our intellects in regard to civil liberty were dissipated, and in part destroyed. The question of political right has not yet been fully debated, and with respect to the improvements and farther discoveries to be made in the two other no less important objects, it may be sufficient for the present to observe, that the motto stamped on the silver coin of Spain,\* applies most forcibly to both of them. The mine that has been discovered, can always be explored. The proud boast is ours, of having given the first example of liberty and reform to the tardy nations of Europe, as it is also our affliction and regret, that when France, roused suddenly from her lethargy, started for the goal of freedom, she should have ran beyond it. I do not mean to investigate the origin and progress of those various commotions which finally produced that temperate and judicious mixture of

\* Plus ultra.

royalty, aristocracy, and democracy, of which our constitution is composed, and under which it is our happiness to live ; experience has demonstrated it to be perfectly compatible with that high spirit of freedom which animated our gallant ancestors to oppose the usurpations, and to resist the extravagant pretensions of the banished Stuarts.

But though it is superfluous to recite what history has so faithfully recorded, it may answer many very useful purposes to observe, that any future insurrection in this country could not possibly arise from the same cause, neither would it have the same object, or be marked by the same issue. The interesting struggles in the last century with Charles the First, and his deluded offspring, whose guilt or misfortune it was to believe, that “ *Divinity doth hedge a King,*” were merely for the purpose of prescribing limits to undefined prerogative. In was, in fact, a contest between despotism and liberty, in which the latter was as it ought to be, and as I trust it ever will be, triumphant ! It was a matter of indifference to our ancestors from what quarry the key-stone was brought that bound the arch together ; they felt no blind and superstitious attachment to persons or to names, and the reflection that the means which placed the present family on the throne, placed them also in our hearts, is not



the least glorious of the many advantages which his Majesty happily derives from the errors of his predecessors, and the troubles in the last century. The quarrel of our ancestors was not with monarchy, but with the monarch, whose pride they humbled, and whose delinquencies they punished. Intricate as the navigation, and tempestuous as the ocean was, they did not wish to cut the rope and send the boat adrift; yet, though it was kept in tow, it was clearly their opinion that the vessel in danger of shipwreck should not be impeded in its perilous course, by a fruitless endeavour to preserve what ought never to be put in competition with the cargo.

When princes become at once insolent, oppressive, and incorrigible, they should be degraded and dismissed from a station they are no longer worthy to occupy. It was not the office, but the man, that our gallant ancestors disliked; yet, though they had no aversion to the former, James the Second might have discovered in the catastrophe of his father, and in his own hapless destiny, that the sceptre is held by no other tenure than opinion, and that it can always be withdrawn at the pleasure of those who bestow it. The prerogatives of the crown being ascertained in 1688, there is certainly no longer any danger to be apprehended from the power of the sovereign. He must govern according to the known  
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and established laws of the land. The tyranny of an individual governing by his own arbitrary will, has no longer an existence in this country; and as every ground of jealousy in this respect has been effectually removed by the recognised limitations of the bill of rights; it will, perhaps, be inquired, what can possibly excite any commotions in these kingdoms of sufficient magnitude to endanger the present order of things?—Those who propose such a question have yet to learn, that disturbances may arise in a state from other causes than a wanton exertion of undefined authority. Whenever the pressure of public taxes is strongly felt, and seriously complained of by the middling and lower orders of society, as humiliating, vexatious, and burdensome;—whenever the expences of a country consume the whole of its entire overstrained revenue, and that these expences are known to be much greater than are necessary to defray the fair and honest purposes of government;—whenever it becomes a matter of public notoriety that a considerable portion of these expences is applied to answer the claims of venality, or to maintain useless establishments which impoverish the state, while they evidently tend to the corruption of private and public morals;—whenever truths are deemed criminal because they are offensive, and that well-intentioned admonitions to œconomy and reform, are received with ill-humour, and attributed

tributed to disaffection ;—whenever government, deceived into a belief of its omnipotence, exacts an unqualified acquiescence with its blunders and extortions as the criterion of loyalty, and improving upon the relentless barbarity of Procrustes would stretch the people to the full measure of its rapacity or ambition on an iron bed of all dimensions, every sober and dispassionate man will perceive with sorrow and alarm, that a conduct so criminal or indiscreet, must ultimately lead to revolt, and that a government commits suicide, and becomes its own assassin, whenever its vexations force the people into insurrection. But when to this criminality, or rather indiscretion, for I am unwilling to place to the account of guilt, what may have resulted from folly or ignorance, a marked indifference is shewn by government to public and private morals, under the fallacious idea that a people become dissolute and corrupt, will be attentive only to their pleasures ; when the hazard table and the counting-house alternately possess the merchant or shopkeeper, and pimps, gamblers, and prize-fighters, become the associates of peers and ministers of state ;—when every species of vicious dissipation is connived at by magistrates, venal from principle as well as indigence, and who are more solicitous to receive the miserable stipends that feed and clothe them, than to repress the profligacy that

must finally overwhelm them ; the danger assumes a graver aspect from its proximity, and cannot be guarded against with too much force or vigilance. If to the evils resulting from a general depravity of manners, should be added the painful and humiliating operation of taxes on the middle and lower orders of society, combined with the scandalous indecorum of a man to whose fortunes they are to a certain degree attached, every intelligent and candid mind will confess, that these accumulated mischiefs will lead as effectually to a revolution as the wildest efforts of the wildest despotism. I am very far from asserting that the morals of this country are arrived at that deplorable state of licentious degradation which eradicates from the mind all sense of private honour and public virtue, or that the taxes are become so intolerable to that part of the community which affords the best support to government, and whose morals are the last to be infected by the taint of profligacy ; but though the conduct of those, who, bound by their high rank and splendid fortunes to give the best example, have unhappily given the worst, has not yet reached that *ne plus ultra* in vice, which forbids all hope of reclamation or amendment, it has a manifest tendency to that ruinous point, and the progress has already been sufficiently great to alarm even confidence itself. It is therefore pardonable, if not laudable, in those who feel  
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this conviction, and dread the effects of an obstinate perseverance in wrong, to exert their best efforts to arrest, if possible, an evil of such magnitude in its destructive course, and prevent an explosion that must prove fatal to millions. It is with this view, and no other, that I have earnestly beseeched those whose duty it is to superintend the best and dearest interests of society, to examine with attention the state of the country; nor can they be too often, or too forcibly reminded, that a nation without morals travels post haste to destruction. Whoever is impressed with the importance of this fact, and anxious to avoid its application to this happy favoured island, must behold with infinite regret, that this truth, so woefully confirmed by the extinction of monarchy in France, has made no impression on those who are most interested, to take warning, and profit by the disastrous event. It must surely be matter of equal sorrow and surprise, that men to whom it offers a lesson at once so terrible and instructive, should remain insensible to their danger, amidst "*the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds!*" Is it that their senses,

"Duller than the fat weed  
That rots itself in ease on Lethe's wharf,"

requires to be struck upon with the force and vehemence of a sledge hammer, to rouse their  
fluggard

fluggard minds from a stupor as dishonourable to themselves, as it may eventually prove fatal to others? If, influenced by an education, either vicious or erroneous, and to which princes in all ages have owed their destruction, they should count equally upon the virtue of forbearance, and the exertions of force; or, if disdaining all medium, they should prefer the desperate remedy of ruined gamesters, and staking the remainder of their fortunes on the cast of a die, play double or quits, it may be an act of charity to attempt to reclaim them from a delusion so fatal, by reminding them of the sad destiny of the Bourbons, to whom Europe, vexed, harassed, and desolated by their intrigues, follies, and infatuation, denies with almost one accord, asylum or support! The situation of France, at present, is precisely the same as that of England in 1688. The sole object of her revolution, like that of our's in the last century, was to curb and pinion tyranny; and all the great insurrections in this country have been uniformly in favour of civil liberty; but if any serious tumult should again occur amongst us, it will be in favour of morals and œconomy. Its object will be to curb licentiousness and prodigality, and to restore to the most valuable part of the community, those comforts and that quiet which will have been wrested from them by oppressive taxes, (the baneful effects of improvident councils) by

the excessive dearness of all the necessaries of life, and by the expensive mode of living, countenanced by the example of the higher orders, and perhaps encouraged by the state itself, with a view to render those dependent from poverty, who might have resisted from virtue. The question of what can shake the internal peace and quiet of this country, is of very wide and important extent, and well deserves reflection. It involves in it a vast variety of very complicated matter, connected not only with the honour, prosperity, and independence of the empire, but with the domestic comfort and security of individuals.

It is a question so interesting at this moment, and of such considerable magnitude to posterity, that it behoves every man in these times of peril and universal alarm, to discuss it fully and deliberately;—not in the tumult and wild uproar of popular assemblies; not in clubs and field meetings in the first instance, but in his closet, where the mind cannot be irritated, poisoned, or inflamed by malice or misrepresentation; where it is free from every species of infection, uncontaminated by the gangrene of prejudice, and undisturbed by the tempests of the passions; where it can reason and reflect at leisure and in peace, and where alone it can expect to marshal its ideas with accuracy, and decide with justice.

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The comprehensive and well informed mind that goes into the closet thus fortified and prepared, with a view to reflect on the past, and meditate on the future destiny of nations, with sufficient vigour to behold undismayed the vast changes that are in preparation, will find abundant exercise for all its faculties, and be struck at the portentous revolution that has already taken place, not only in the different states which have been forced out of their positions by the subversion of the French monarchy, but in the minds of men ; for that is the revolution which is the most formidable in its nature and in its consequences, the progress of which it is the duty of ministers to watch with all the vigilance that alarm and danger inspire, and with that prudence and magnanimity which know when to yield without dishonour, and when to resist without defeat. Whoever examines the present state of affairs on the continent, will perceive that the system by which this country has hitherto conducted itself in its relations with foreign powers, must undergo a full and entire revision ; and if the disastrous events of the present contest should happily convince us of the folly of subsidising foreign princes, we shall have the less reason to execrate the impudent fraud and perfidy of the King of Prussia, and cease to lament a prodigality that has eventually taught us wisdom and œconomy. Our insular

situation exempts us from the necessity, and prudence should preserve us from the folly of subsidising foreign powers.

The history of the late, as well as the present war, proves the absurdity and inutility of a system which has answered no other purpose than to administer to the pride, the avarice, or ostentation of that class of beings who are the least entitled to veneration and respect. Of men who hate and despise us, while they live by our bounty, or profit by our profusion, and who (it may be said, without much exaggeration,)

Owe all their state, their raiment, and their food,  
To the vile merchandise of human blood !

I do not mean to recommend the conduct of France as worthy of our imitation in every instance, but however disgusting or mischievous it has been at different periods of the war, it is due to her magnanimity to admire that courage and fortitude which enabled her to resist, and finally to triumph over the most powerful confederacy that ever existed.

Those who are disposed to withhold their little tribute of well-merited applause, to such wonderful exertions and perseverance, have yet to learn that the justice which is exacted, loses half its value, and the whole of the effect that ought to flow



flow from good example. France alone has not only resisted the combined force of Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Holland, a part of Germany, and Great Britain, but she has compelled all her assailants, without exception, to sue to her either directly or indirectly for peace. France has obtained all these triumphs without the aid of a single ally, that was either disposed, or had the ability to take part in the quarrel; and as France has fully demonstrated by her unexampled achievements, the falsehood of treaties and the nonsense of alliances, it is to be hoped that administration will profit by the woe-ful but instructive lesson they have received, and close the account for ever with Landgraves and Electors. It is not, however, to a change of system in regard to the continental powers that the minister must confine himself, the reform must be general, and extend to domestic as well as to foreign politics, if he wishes, which by the bye cannot well be doubted, to preserve the peace of the country. When the destiny of millions is at stake, there is equal cruelty and guilt in having recourse to fallacy; nor can it be too seriously lamented, that while one party holds out the most positive assurances of national prosperity, with the no less positive assurances of an happy issue to the contest in which we are engaged, that the other should magnify each disastrous event, however trifling and accidental, into an

irretrievable calamity, and assert that the resources of the country are exhausted, and that we have no refuge from bankruptcy and ruin, but in an immediate peace, however short its duration, or degrading its condition. It is impossible to argue from either of these premises; they are neither of them founded in fact, nor does it redound to the credit of ministers, or of their opponents, that they should have departed so widely from truth, in order to discredit each other in the public opinion. The consequences resulting from declarations and statements so diametrically opposite to each other, must not only be delusion, but productive of much animosity and ill humour; and if the object of that delusion is to obtain the confidence of the people, the conduct of both parties is extremely reprehensible, and cannot be too severely censured; for if the opposition possessed that credit with the nation, which is due to men whose province it is to superintend the executive power, much serious mischief might result from statements so directly contrary to each other, and particularly at a time when the force, magnitude, and proximity of the danger that threatens us, call loudly and imperiously for energy and union. Every respect is due to the rank, talents, and attainments of the noble Lord who has published a speech in answer to that of the Marquis of Lansdown. His means of information are certainly

tainly great, nor is it meant to question the fidelity of his different statements, when I assert that the application of them is not always fair, and that I am afraid his zeal has been greater than his discretion. There are also other considerations which cannot be unknown to his Lordship, that expose him to the suspicion of having departed from the candor he professes, and ought certainly to have observed. Every species of delusion in the present situation of the country is wrong; it leads to a security that may prove fatal in the event, and to dissemble under such circumstances is in fact treachery to the nation. The more honest part would be to come forward and own difficulties that are continually augmenting and cannot long be concealed. The more manly part would be to meet the danger, and not shun it by skulking behind venal majorities until an explosion involves all parties in one common ruin.

It is almost impossible that Lord Auckland, with the stigma attached to his political character, should be thought impartial, and the suspicion is rather strengthened than weakened by the publicity of his future expectations and his actual situation with the minister. The statement given by his Lordship of the price of stocks in 1783 and 1796 is fallacious; the periods were neither exactly taken nor fairly selected.

At

At the former epoch the funds had experienced their lowest state of depression, and unless his Lordship can assure us that they will not descend during the present contest below the price they bore at the latter period, it would have been more prudent to have been silent. It would also have been more candid to have assigned the true cause of the difference of price in 1783 and 1796: and as the cause is no secret, the conclusions he has drawn from the difference are the less excusable. The extreme attention which Mr. Pitt has invariably shewn to the trade and commerce of the country deserves the highest commendation, and it is a justice due to his zeal and exertions to acknowledge, that his unremitting efforts to restore public credit were crowned with that success which ought ever to await on great ability well directed. The comparative high price of our funds to what they were in the American war proceeds in a great measure from events which could not be foreseen, and which were never expected. It is merely a casualty on which a correct and intelligent statesman would disdain to reckon, and which a writer jealous of his reputation for sagacity and rectitude would never have produced as an argument of national prosperity. This matter deserves elucidation, and if Lord Auckland, in attempting to impose upon the country, should really have imposed upon the minister, it

is an aggravation of his guilt that he should have betrayed his friend and benefactor into an error, which, connected with other measures of government, may have a serious effect on the general interests of the country. It is almost needless to observe, that France and England were the two great powers whose credit stood highest in the estimation of foreign nations, and that they absorbed a very considerable part of that superfluous wealth which constantly overflowing from an immense and wide extended commerce, in an abundance that required other drains and reservoirs than what trade could furnish, was vested in the public funds of both kingdoms at an interest far inferior to the profits arising from commerce in preference to the risk and inconvenience of leaving these enormous sums a useless stagnate mass without circulation. Some idea may perhaps be formed of the faith of foreign nations in the French funds, and of the extent of their investments, from the city of Geneva alone receiving the sum of eighteen millions of livres annually from France as the interest due on its capital; the geographical position of France and her extensive intercourse with all the states of Europe, joined to that politeness and urbanity of manners which marked all ranks and descriptions of people as completely as if they had issued from the same mint and been coined by the same dye, were strong attractions, which, contrasted with



the less engaging and sometimes uncouth as well as insolent manners of this country, had every advantage that could be expected from more solid but less pleasing qualities by which that confidence and preference were obtained, for politeness and affability, which the blunt rudeness of artless integrity had vainly imagined were due only to itself. At the conclusion of the late war a decided preference was given to the funds of France, and it became at that period a very serious object with the Court of Versailles to impress all the states of Europe with an idea that the bankruptcy of Great Britain was inevitable.

\* The government that had recourse to an expedient so dishonourable, in order to ruin a nation with which it was no longer in hostility, has been woefully punished for its baseness and perfidy, while those who confided in the faith of such assurances, have been beggared by their credulity.

Public credit in France was completely annihilated by the revolution, and to this event, as terrible in its consequences as it was totally unforeseen and unexpected, may be ascribed in a great measure the present price of our funds. On the dissolution of the French monarchy, dating it from the 14th July 1789, the superfluous wealth of Europe flowed impetuously into this country, and those who foresaw that the tempest

was

was not at the highest in France, or who were personally alarmed for their own immediate safety, sought an asylum from tumult and danger, perhaps from justice, under the mild and equitable dominion of the British government. These fugitives brought what property their fright enabled them to collect, and the sums that were afterwards transmitted at different periods, until the war put an end to all amicable intercourse between the two countries, have been very considerable. This is one of the causes that prevented our funds from feeling a depression similar to that which they experienced in the American war; but what has most contributed to keep up the price was the great influx of money not only from those nations which formerly from ignorance, convenience, or political motives preferred the French funds to those of England, but from those powers which have also been drawn into the terrible vortex of the revolution. Lord Auckland is too well acquainted with the principles of trade not to know that the value of any commodity depends in a great measure upon the demand there may be for it in the market, no fair exception can be taken to his statement of the present price of the funds, if he had properly accounted for it, and which was expected from his candor.—No man is better versed in the principles of commerce than his Lordship, it would be illiberal as well as unjust to withhold from

him a tribute that is so unquestionably his due, nor can it be denied, that whenever he is candid and explicit in proportion to his talents and knowledge, his assertions become authorities from which it would argue ignorance or impertinence to appeal.—Lord Auckland must be sensible that the comparative high price of stocks is the effect of accident, the advantage of which to public credit can only be temporary, nor can he be ignorant, that whenever peace is happily restored to afflicted Europe, other confidences will arise, and other nations obtain a portion of that wealth which the unsettled state of the continent, and the circumstances of the times had consigned for greater security to his country. This acknowledgment was expected from a man who professed to be candid. His Lordship is yet to learn, perhaps, that it is disrespectful to leave off in the middle of a story; he should either finish, or not begin it: Lord Auckland in his diplomatic character may have found it necessary to deal in half truths and half sentences. The policy of different nations in their transactions with each other may require such precautions, but as they belong exclusively *au département des affaires étrangères*, it is to the foreign office they should be confined, and his Lordship will do well in future to leave them where he found them. When he acts ministerially all responsibility is in a great degree removed,

moved, and he may claim indulgence even for a gross indecorum of language, but in the present instance he has come forward, not in the character of an envoy compelled to speak as he is instructed by those who sent him, but in the more dignified character of a Peer of parliament, as a legislator, by whom candor and truth (much better supporters to his arms than any he can obtain from the heralds) should be prized as attributes. If any thing could render his obligation to respect them more sacred, it is the circumstance of his having come voluntarily forward, uninvited and unsolicited, for the avowed purpose of reproving a departure from them in others. When a man accuses another of misrepresentation, it is doubly incumbent on him to be scrupulously exact himself, nor is it perfectly honest to mislead us under the pretence of informing us. The Marquis of Lansdown may have been wrong in his statements, and admitting the fact, Lord Auckland was under the greater obligation to be accurate, when he arose for the avowed purpose of correcting the errors of his Lordship, and giving an example of candor. A fact that has been communicated to me relative to the price of land by a very old and intimate acquaintance, on whose veracity I can depend, would authorise a conclusion very different to that which his Lordship has drawn, if I were disposed to avail myself of the advantage it

affords

affords me. But it is not triumph that I seek—vanity and ambition never had at any period of my life any very strong hold on my mind, and they have less now than ever.

In submitting these facts and reflections to my country, I have no other object in view than to promote its interests according to my comprehension, or rather according to my conception of things, those interests cannot be properly secured unless they are perfectly understood, and to impress the nation with an idea of prosperity and security at the very instant that an obstinate perseverance in error will speedily and infallibly produce its destruction, is a fallacy of so dangerous and criminal a nature, that it ought to be instantly refuted and cannot be too severely reprobated.

It was a similar delusion that finally conducted Louis the XVIth to the block, and his family to beggary.\* There is in the sad fate of that hapless

\* It is a well-known fact, that the gentleman who arrived at Versailles on the 14th of July, 1789, with an account of the destruction of the Bastile, to whom fright gave speed, was treated with marked contempt by the whole Court, and the information considered as too improbable to be true. All the thanks he received were, *ce n'est pas vrai, Monsieur*, which is tantamount to *you lie, Sir*. Such was their infatuation even when the game was up. I appeal to M. de Breteuil to say if this was not the fact.



monarch, and in the degradation of his bankrupt profligate court, volumes of wholesome instruction to kings, ministers, and people, and above all to those ruthless spendthrift princes, whose fall and extirpation, if they could fall ALONE, would neither excite pity nor regret ! If however Lord Auckland has made the most of the documents to which he has had access, with no other view than to enliven and animate us to the most vigorous exertions in a contest the most perilous of any that have occurred since the days of Carthage, it is but fair to acknowledge, that the exaggeration loses all its criminality in consideration of its motive, and that it is at all events less mischievous in its immediate consequences than the statement of facts which, with an air of malicious triumph over the supposed incapacity of the minister, describes the country to be on the verge of inevitable destruction, sinking under the enormous pressure of accumulating difficulties, and no longer able to oppose an enemy with whom it is actually at war for all that is valuable or desirable in possession. If it is deserving of censure to hold out the prospect of better times to a people too apt to despond in adversity ; if it is criminal to inspire them with hope, and excite them to fresh efforts in a war probably of life and death, with a people whose brilliant exploits are ill calculated to inspire them with sentiments of moderation, it is surely much  
more

more criminal to encourage that despondency, and to unnerve that arm raised to defend itself in the moment of danger. What is this exaggerated account of our pressures and misfortunes, but an invitation to the enemy to invade us, with a positive assurance of being able to accomplish our utter extinction ?

What is it, in fact, but to represent us bound hand and foot, weak, crippled, and debilitated, incapable of any farther resistance, and ready to receive the law from a nation that erroneously imagines it is her interest to annihilate us ? It is far from my intention to attribute any such motive to the ingenious and elaborate author of "*Additional Facts.*" No man can estimate more highly or more sincerely than I do, the very great abilities of Mr. Morgan ; neither do I mean to undervalue the industry with which he has entered into the whole detail of our public debt. His arithmetical calculations do infinite credit to his genius and application ; they prove that his mind, vigorous and comprehensive, is profoundly versed in the science of finance, but notwithstanding his unquestionable claim to the justice I have rendered to his talents and attainments, I cannot but think his pamphlet extremely injudicious and ill-timed, and that however correct his statements may be, they are more likely to produce a bad effect than a good one.

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I do not perceive how it can possibly have any other operation. If credit is given to the melancholy picture drawn by Mr. Morgan of our internal situation, it must occasion distrust, alarm, and despondency at home, in the same proportion that it inspires confidence, courage, and a spirit of enterprize abroad. If Mr. Morgan is sincere in his wish for peace, and I have no reason to doubt it, the warmest of his admirers, and I class myself of the number, must confess that he has precisely adopted the very means the most likely to prevent it, and by preventing it, he may possibly accelerate the very ruin that he predicts and laments. If the French confide in his statements, it is not likely that they will enter into negotiations for peace on the only terms upon which one independent nation can treat with another.

If our strength is finally exhausted; if we are really arrived at that wretched state of distress and debility which lead to bankruptcy and dissolution—if the happy influence of peace, combined with the efforts of the most vigorous and rigid œconomy can alone rescue us from impending ruin, it was surely imprudent to reveal a truth pregnant with such important consequence to our happiness and independence, to those who have it in their power to make a very terrible use of it. If the combined influence of peace and

æconomy can alone save us from perdition, it is not likely that France, apprised of the fact, and bent on our destruction, will disregard the information, or neglect an opportunity so favourable to her wishes. It is not likely that the power from whom we must absolutely receive one of the means of salvation, and that thinks itself interested in our extinction, will neglect the occasion our impotency offers to accomplish our ruin.

I feel assured that Mr. Morgan was not aware when he published his Facts, of the mischiefs they might produce. It certainly did not occur to him at the time that he was prolonging the calamities he deplores, and ensuring the calamity he would avert, by a statement which the nearer it approaches to truth, the more criminal and direful its effects will be; what is it in fact but encouraging a nation, invincible almost from enthusiasm and animated by the splendor of her triumphs, to pursue with unabated vigor her career of unexampled glory, with the certainty of adding in the event the only country she dreads, to the exhilarating catalogue of her rich trophies?

If the French are indisposed to treat with us, the exposure of our weakness and insolvency is ill calculated to change that disposition—their  
sentiments

sentiments are not likely to become pacific, while they believe us unequal to the prosecution of the contest, and as peace cannot be obtained without the mutual accord of both parties, whoever endeavours to prevent either of them from listening to reasonable terms of accommodation is decidedly an enemy to both. I certainly do not consider Mr. Morgan in this light, I acquit him of every such design; but his writings will have that tendency in proportion to the credit they obtain in France, and to the degree of resentment with which she may be animated against us. It is not crime that I reproach Mr. Morgan with, but imprudence. If he is not criminal, he is indiscreet, and his indiscretion is unhappily of a nature to produce the very worst effects that can possibly arise from the most atrocious guilt. I am concerned that a gentleman so profoundly versed in the subject on which he has written with very great and evident ability, should have been so injudicious as to give publicity to what must operate to the disadvantage of his country by diffusing a distrust of its own strength and resources, at the same time that it inspires her enemies with the hopes of an easy conquest. Such must be the effect of the pamphlet, if it is read and believed, and my regret is augmented at beholding a mind at once enlightened and benevolent, perverted and jaundiced by the spirit of party. The minister is fre-



quently treated with an asperity that shews there is something personal between him and the author.

It is possible that the latter may have had reason to complain, yet whatever offence may have been given by the former, either to Mr. Morgan or to his venerable relation, whose virtue and talents were at once exemplary and useful, and whose memory must ever be dear to every man who values wisdom united with the strictest integrity; I still aver, that it was injudicious and impertinent to the question before us, to blend private resentment with public complaint. It was extremely wrong to have shewn any animosity to the *man*, at the instant that the capacity of the Minister was arraigned. In proportion as the Author was influenced by a wish to promote the interests of his country, the more studiously he should have abstained from every appearance of personal dislike, anger, and resentment.

Whatever his motives may have been in publishing his statement, its credit for correctness becomes impeached by its asperity; its purpose will most probably be defeated by the little temperance he has shewn in the discussion of matters which do not admit either of declamation or conjecture, and which ought to have been  
treated

treated with the gravity and precision of mathematics. The mind, involved in all the nice intricacies of numbers, where the severest and most unremitting attention is required to feel their force, and comprehend their various combinations, cannot be well pleased on being interrupted by impertinent sarcasms which *prove nothing*, and which are alike unworthy of the Author and of the subject. It is owing to this cause, jointly with the imprudence of publishing such a statement at this time, that the purity of Mr. Morgan's motive has been impeached, and the accuracy of his statement denied. Nor is it an argument of his impartiality, to brand indiscriminately every man with being in the pay of the Treasury who differs from him. There is a want of candour in such reproaches that facts do not require to give them force. Is a difference in opinion with Mr. Morgan a proof of venality, or is it liberal to infer, that the man, who is not convinced by the arguments advanced by Mr. Morgan, must be a ministerialist? Is there no medium between the extremes, and must every man who writes on public affairs yoke himself, slave-like, to one party or the other, go in harness at their good pleasure, and pace in no other track than what they point out? That there are Swift writers as well as Swifts of another description, is certainly true, and a truth that is seriously to be lamented,

because talents should honour, not degrade the possessor, and be employed, not to hoodwink mankind and prejudice their minds, but to enlighten, console, and benefit them. Such are the uses to which talents ought to be directed: such the applications that should be given to enlarged understandings, cultivated and improved by study and experience. But though there are men who prostitute the noblest gifts of nature;\* though there are men who take their pens to market and meanly offer their services at one or the other house of call, willing on all occasions, and even for the basest purposes, to surrender their judgments, and sacrifice their principles to their interest. I feel assured that Mr. Morgan is not of that description; and while I lament that a mind so comprehensive should have been warped by personal resentment, I honour its vigour, and anticipate much future good to the country from its exertions. It is not, however, from the commerce, or the revenues of this country being a million more or a million less at one period than at another, that can materially affect the general interests of this country, or decide its destiny.—These fluctuations are unavoidable.—They result from the very nature of commerce, and as revenue is the effect, and not the cause of commerce, the former must ever partake of the fortunes of the latter. While  
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\* Vide Appendix a.

this is preserved to us, all apprehensions for the safety of the other are childish.

It is a wise and faithful application of the revenue that demands our vigilance and solicitude. The state has nothing to fear from the temporary trifling fluctuations of commerce, but its irrecoverable depression, or total extinction. While the markets are open, and our manufactures are in demand, the country must not only be solvent, but powerful, at least as far as strength is connected with finance ; and if the common fluctuations of trade admitted of any certain rule of judging, the arguments they afford on the present occasion favour most potently some of the conclusions which Lord Auckland has drawn, and banish most decidedly and effectually from the mind every idea of national bankruptcy. The exertions of the country are stupendous ; they certainly exceed the efforts of past ages, and compared with those of former wars, must strike the mind with wonder ; but enormous and unexampled as our exertions have been, our strength is far from being exhausted.—There are yet very great and abundant resources in the country ;—resources fully adequate to the pressure of the times, and which, if temperately called forth, and judiciously applied, will enable us to resist with a certainty of success, whatever the enemy, even in the delirium of his triumphs, dare

dare oppose to the loyalty and valour of the British nation. It is not from a deficiency of means that we shall become bankrupts and beggars, but from a wanton abuse of that strength, and an improvident expenditure of those means. That strength and those means, to have an effect, should be concentrated, if possible, into a focus, and if this plain, scientific truth had been attended to in the commencement of the contest, the great exertions of the present moment would have been unnecessary. It is not from a trifling increase or decrease of our annual exports and imports that any serious calamity can arise. The mischiefs with which we are threatened will not result from the variations of foreign markets, nor from our manufactures being in greater demand in Germany than in Italy, but from our numerous expensive, and in some instances, unnecessary establishments, and our no less numerous sinecures, the miserable expediency to which indolent or incapable ministers were formerly driven in order to govern the country, and retain their employments, and to which their successors, with better intentions and without such excuses, have unhappily adhered, rather than expose themselves to the opposition, or hazard the resentment of those whom it is at all times easier to *buy* than *convince*.

It is not to be supposed that the government will be so foolish as to maintain all its present establishments. It



It is from the venality and profligacy of individuals, who ought to have nobler sentiments, and a conduct more correct, that we have the most to fear, and if I forbear expatiating on the consequences that must inevitably result from this profusion, in complaisance to insatiate vanity or avarice, it is that the task is ungrateful and would be thought insidious by those who are supposed to have joined the Minister, less from a sense of common danger than for the purpose of obtaining the patronage, emoluments, and considerations attached to high official situations.

I deny that the country is playing its last stroke, as Lord Auckland has imprudently asserted, or that it is at its last gasp, as Mr. Morgan pretends, provided that the Minister resolved on right, dares shake off the vile trammels of faction and cabal, and trust to the resources of his own mind, to his country, and to God for support. I deny that the nation, vexed, harassed, and misled as she has been, is irrecoverably lost, provided that the Minister has the virtue to come forward and adopt those reforms, and insist upon those retrenchments, which policy and common sense point out as the only means of salvation, and which are as practicable as they are known to be expedient and equitable. If Mr. Pitt has the courage to emancipate himself

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from the disgraceful shackles which have curved and restricted his well-intentioned march, and which those who most respected him have most lamented ; he will immediately find, and the nation will as instantly feel the happiest effects arise from a liberation too long postponed, and worthy of the reputation attached to his name. By a proper exertion of the vast powers of his mind, by a manly and dignified rejection of the pitiful means by which men with corrupt hearts and pitiful minds imagine the complicated interests of a great empire are to be conducted, he will become such a minister as the exigencies of the moment require ; and which the fatal crooked policy, that has influenced our councils of late, has rendered indispensably necessary to enable us to measure back our ground and recover the position we have lost. It is the most effectual, perhaps the only means of infusing new life and vigour into a constitution, enfeebled, not through any inherent defects in itself, but from the folly and turpitude of those who have abused and perverted its best institutions and wisest provisions to the worst of purposes ; but if the favourable opportunity should be lost by timidity or delay—

If Mr. Pitt, alarmed at the magnitude of the danger before him, or from distrust of his own powers, should prefer temporizing with men to  
whom

whom he ought to give the law, he will expose his country to the heaviest of calamities, and trifle with his own safety; he will find himself lost past redemption, and eventually fall, perhaps, the hapless victim of his own pusillanimity. Something more than ten years are elapsed, since I took occasion, in some letters publicly addressed to a person, whom it would be pollution to mention, and who, in addition to our other misfortunes, appears to be as lost to all sense of shame, as he is insensible to all sense of virtue, that *every new tax is an advance towards a revolution*; and this is a truth that cannot be too often enforced upon the notice of those who have most to apprehend, and the most to lose from such an event. It is impossible that any tax, however direct and trifling it may be, can have a simple operation; every man seeks to indemnify himself, for what the state takes from him, by some means or other; and whatever the object taxed may be, it will ultimately affect, in a greater or lesser degree, all those articles which are indispensably necessary to the support of animal existence. Every tax under the present enormous load of public debt has an infectious quality. Its contagion pervades and corrodes the whole system of finance, and its accumulating force, like the multiplying powers in mechanics, set calculation at defiance; while men find the means of indemnifying them-

selves with more than usurious interest for what they contribute, by enhancing the price of the commodities which they vend, or in the more laudable resources of self-denial and economy, the pressure will not be felt to any alarming or very painful extent, but the instant that the value of the article bears no proportion to its price, the means of indemnity are most woefully diminished, and the tax fails in its effect. It will not only counteract its own purpose, but become a mischief to the state, by exposing the poverty of its resources, the incapacity of its minister or the tyranny of its government.

This fact cannot be better illustrated than by recurring to the late tax on port wine, any additional impost on that article would most probably amount to a prohibition, and when men are compelled to relinquish what they have long ceased to consider as a luxury, their loyalty is apt to give way to their feelings; it is then that the reign of clamour commences: and this clamour will assume a very serious aspect whenever the first necessities of life are beyond the easy reach of the laborious part of the community. It is the nature of evil in general to propagate itself without the intervention of sexual enjoyment.—Clamour is of this description—It is the forerunner of revolt, as revolt is the precursor of a revolution; and a wise government, sensible of

of this important truth, will ever bear in faithful remembrance, that whatever provokes clamour, justifies in some degree the consequences. If nothing was to be taken from individuals but what the exigencies of the state, or even its profusions required, the burthen would scarce be felt ; but we are not only called upon to administer to the necessities of government, but to the avarice and rapacity of the merchant or trader, to whom the opening of the budget, or what is still worse, a calamitous event is very often the source of fortune or of wealth. These men in general double every tax that Parliament imposes ; in some instances they more than quadruple it, and as the inconsistencies of mankind appear to have no limits, and their forbearance on some occasions keeps pace with their absurdities, they clamour and revolt at a solitary farthing levied by the legislature, while they submit without murmuring to the merciless exactions of shopkeepers, and allow the avarice and rapacity of trade to pillage them with impunity.

But the most serious evil that has resulted from the rapid increase of taxes, and the increased price of all the immediate necessities of life, is the impoverished state to which their baneful influence has reduced all those whose incomes extend from fifty to five hundred pounds a year. The people comprised within these two sums,



are very numerous, and they are no less formidable from their numbers than from their characters. They not only possess collectively the greatest portion of the wealth of the country, but by far the greatest portion of rectitude. There is infinitely less vice and profligacy in the middling ranks of life, than in the highest and in the lowest.

The first of these are apt to claim an exemption from the obligation of morality, in consequence of that arrogance which fortune and high birth are sometimes apt to engender ; and what tends to confirm minds naturally depraved in their vicious propensities, is the abject servility of those, who, from a base attention to their own miserable interests, pay homage to the dignified reptiles in society, whom chance has made rich, royal, or noble, and who must at the very moment they receive the vile incense of fulsome adulation, despise the parasite that flatters their vanity, or administers to their vices. If the highest ranks are above all sense of shame, the lowest are below it. It is therefore to the middle orders that government should invariably look for support, for when this invaluable, this formidable body of men, this true and only effectual cement of society, are by the advanced price of provisions reduced almost to the condition of paupers, and complaining of the difficulty  
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of living, call loudly for an alleviation of the burthens that oppress them ; their grievances must be redressed, or they may be provoked to make a common cause with those who have nothing, and dissolve the compact.

I do not say, that this is precisely the situation of the country at present, it, however, seems to be rapidly advancing towards that terrible crisis which cannot be contemplated without alarm, and in proof of which I appeal to the candor of every man whose memory and experience can carry him back twenty years, to say whether those who have at this time an annual income of two hundred pounds, can enjoy more of the comforts of life than those who, antecedent to the American war, had only half that sum ? consequently the man who has only one hundred pounds a year, is, in fact, reduced by the change of circumstances to live on fifty. His privations must of course be considerable, and each new tax will necessarily diminish his comforts. When it is recollected that some of these privations may have been exacted in order to support senseless folly and incorrigible guilt, in dishonourable splendor ; he feels the injury aggravated by insult, and is led to inquire how it is possible that an extravagant maintenance of profligacy and bad example, should be connected with a preservation of morals with which they are at variance,

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and with the interests of society, which they as unquestionably tend to undermine and ruin. It is not right that any man living in society should be a dead weight on the community ; the law that consigns an idle worthless vagabond to the house of correction, recognises this salutary, equitable principle ; and as it cannot be contested, it should be applied indifferently to all, without respect to persons. In this instance, the beggar claims equality with the prince, and whenever the latter degrades himself to a level with the former, he should be made to feel, however callous he may be, the consequence of his meanness and turpitude—the equity of this maxim, and the propriety of its application, are so evident, that a truth which is seldom attended to in time by government to profit by it, must instantly occur to every reflecting mind, and even obstinacy itself confess, that the strongest cable may be snapped by tension.

Whether the ministry, apprised of the fact, have found leisure to give it the attention it loudly demands, I know not, and if I have presumed to expatiate on the probable consequences of rendering so considerable a body of men discontented, it is from a very sincere wish that the quiet of the nation should be preserved, not by a military despotism, to which some men, with hearts as obdurate as their minds are arrogant, so  
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confidently look up, and against which I would be the first to arm ; but by the mild and persuasive influence of policy and right, sanctioned and protected by the constitutional laws of the land.

The smallest pebble thrown into a river, will expand for a moment the broadest surface. Every new tax touches with more or less force each particular item in the voluminous account, and swells the sum total, not only of produce, but of wretchedness and woe.

It is scarce possible to reflect on the extensive and mischievous operation which the enormous sum of five millions additional taxes must have on the common comforts and necessaries of life, without being seriously alarmed for the consequences. These are not times to trifle with the passions and understandings of mankind. Other expedients than force and fraud must be employed to govern them, and the sooner this wholesome consolatory truth is felt, and practised by ministers, the more honourable it will be for themselves, and the better for their country. The revolution that has taken place in the minds of men, calls loudly on those who are intrusted with the executive government, to exercise their authority with great circumspection,

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and to observe the most rigid œconomy in the expenditure of the public money.

If any commotions should unhappily arise in the country, it will not be for the purpose of prescribing limits to prerogative, as in the last century, but to exterminate that profusion and corruption which absorbs all public and private virtue, and whose baneful influence, as Mr. Morgan very justly observes, tends to annihilate the middle order of people, and leave only two classes in society, the very rich and the very poor. I think more highly of Mr. Pitt's judgment than to attribute to him any such intention; but in the present state of the country, and temper of the people, it will be wisdom, as well as justice, to bind by the double ties of interest and affection, that class from which he must draw support, and to which he must ultimately look for protection in the hour of necessity. A marked indifference to their comforts will be attributed to a criminal contempt of their rights, and he will authorise the murmurs that he excites. The transition from discontent to disaffection is not very difficult or distant, and from thence to revolt immediate. The melancholy history of the times confirms this awful and momentous truth; nor does it require an extraordinary degree of penetration to discover, that in the event of another revolution, it is not the dynasty that



that will be changed, but the monarchy that will be subverted.

It is also incumbent on nations, possessing a pre-eminence in rank, and desirous of preserving that pre-eminence, to be careful not only that her imposts are productive and acceptable at home, but that they do not excite derision, or discredit her abroad, by authorising the idea of penury and ability.

I do not mean to speak disrespectfully of the talents of the gentleman who proposed the dog-tax; but if he had been accustomed to behold the great interests of a wide extended empire, through a larger medium, I do not think he would have proposed a measure so extremely ill calculated to impress foreigners, and especially the nation with which we are at war, with any very exalted ideas of the abundance of our resources; the reasoning of the gentleman in favour of his plan had not even the poor merit of being plausible. It abounded with contradictions, and proved that its author is as yet at a very considerable distance from the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

One of its allowed objects was to ease the parish rates throughout the kingdom, and this it was thought would ensure it great popularity, and

give it a kind of passport to the gracious reception of the country gentlemen in Parliament, while the rich farmers, and country 'squires who are out of it, would be no less captivated at the assurances it held out of putting an entire end to the worrying of sheep, to the horrible effects of the hydrophobia, and above all, to the abominable practice of poaching. In the one instance it was a measure of finance; in the other, of police; two objects differing very widely from each other, which the gentleman who proposed the tax ought to have known, should always be kept perfectly distinct. On this occasion they are in direct hostility to each other; the tax as a measure of finance, destroys the tax as a measure of police. In the former instance, the breed of dogs should be encouraged to render it productive; in the latter, they should be destroyed, or our sportsmen will become furious on finding game less plentiful, and the Omskirk medicine in greater demand than ever. This dilemma would probably not have happened if the gentleman had not been as indifferent a logician as he is a financier. I have no doubt but he loves mutton, in a sense very different to that which Congreve has affixed to it in his play of the Old Bachelor; but whatever may be the description of haunches that he prefers, whether those of mutton, or those that are so delicious to the tact, there certainly will not be a sheep the less destroyed

stroyed at the year's end, if the tax is productive, and if it is not, the poor rates will lose the promised relief, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who cried halves, and claimed the fourths of it for himself will be woefully disappointed.

But the tax is highly exceptionable in other respects, it must infallibly operate as a sentence of death against animals who are examples of gratitude and fidelity to mankind, to whom they are at once guardians, companions, and playmates ! It is the duty of a legislator to abstain most carefully from whatever has the most remote tendency to brutalize the mind, and familiarize it with blood, for the object of legislation is to civilize men, and reclaim them from the savage ferocity of a state of nature. It is a poor and pitiful benevolence that does not extend beyond our own species ; limited to that narrow selfish sphere, it will daily counteract itself as we advance in life, until it becomes confined entirely to ourselves, and as shrivelled, cold, and forlorn, as avarice itself can wish.

4. Mr. Dent is an entire stranger to me, I scarce know his person, or his character ; but though I have no reason to impeach either his humanity or his urbanity, I cannot but condemn the tax he indiscreetly proposed, and that Parliament as indiscreetly adopted, as extremely injudicious  
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and impolitic, even in a political point of view ; for it gives the semblance of truth to the malicious assertions of Mr. Paine, and authorises a belief that the resources of this country must be nearly at their last ebb, when it is compelled to tax animals of domestic use, in order to provide for its numerous poor ; and the argument derives additional force from the avidity with which the minister darted forth, and grappling with the pauper, wrested from his feeble gripe almost the whole of the miserable pittance that was destined exclusively for his support.

Such is the impression that this tax, and the mode of applying it, must make on the minds, not only of France, that is in determined hostility with us, but on the other powers of Europe, not one of which but hates us to the full as cordially, though in a far less dignified manner, as the nation with which we are at war. I am far, very far from being a rich man ; I have merely a competency, with which, however, I am perfectly satisfied ; but scanty as my income is, I would cheerfully subscribe half of it, rather than that the enemy should receive an impression of our weakness, so unfavourable and unjust, and that may stimulate him to continue hostilities in the vain and fallacious hope of obtaining a speedy and complete triumph over this country. It is no secret that every art has been employed to se-

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duce the directory into an such opinion, and formidable, not to say invincible, as the obstacles are to the success of such a wild and impolitic enterprise, it appears to have made a serious impression on men from whom we should have expected more wisdom, and whose knowledge and experience should have better informed them. But governments, as well as individuals, are sometimes under the influence of the passions, and, like individuals, insensible to their true interests. The interests of France require that Great Britain should retain the rank she holds among the nations of Europe ; it is for the interests of Europe that this rank should be assured to her. The policy that would annihilate the power of this country, must be short-sighted indeed, and much nearer allied to the vindictive resentment of an implacable individual, than to that wisdom which ought to characterise the councils of a great nation.

It is full time that France and Great Britain, recovered from a delirium that has too long estranged them, should be more just to each other, and exchange their animosity for amity—their hostility for union. It is full time that the directory, with a magnanimity worthy of that energy which a love of liberty inspires, and which has made tyranny, shrinking within itself, tremble  
for



for its existence, should spurn the vile efforts of an alien to impose upon their understandings, and mislead their judgment ; of an alien who has a revenge to gratify, and whose unnatural hatred to his native country requires that his assertions should be received with caution and distrust.

It is unworthy of France, and above all, of the glorious animating cause in which she is engaged, the cause of liberty ! that a stranger to her manners, genius, and language, should influence her councils, instead of policy and rights, and regulate her march to grandeur and repose. It is time that both nations, taught wisdom, by adversity should spurn the treacherous councils of their deadliest foes, and that Great Britain, convinced of her follies, should cease to be mislead by a committee of French exiles, sitting in judgment, not only on foreigners but on natives. \* A committee, composed of that description of priests, bishops, and nobles, who are the least entitled to the credit they have obtained, and the least deserving of the alms they receive, whose pernicious influence has dishonoured our councils, and prolonged the calamities of war, and from whom all confidence will be instantly withdrawn, if ministers consult either their duty or their safety. In a word, it is full time that both nations, invited

\* Vide Appendix b.

by policy as well as magnanimity, to friendship and to peace, should bury in eternal oblivion all remembrance of past wrongs, and close a sanguinary contest, as destructive to their interests as it is afflicting for humanity !

# THE

AMERICAN  
REPUBLICAN

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A  
R E V I E W  
OF  
MR. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION.

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THE man who pronounces on the wisdom or folly of public measures, from their failure or success, places a greater confidence in events than they merit, and makes his judgment a lacquey on the accidents of fortune. The mind that has no other rule to go by, is more liable to commit injustice than to applaud desert, and in matters of high national import, a better standard should be resorted to. This cannot be better explained than by stating a case, and before I state it, it is necessary to premise, that I have purposely taken very distant ground from what I conceive to have been the real object of the war, in order to avoid the possibility of being misrepresented, or supposed to mean any indecent allusion to the King's servants; I will suppose

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pose that the minister, authorised to believe from the information transmitted from France, corroborated by the deplorable state of that country within, that the complete destruction of a rival kingdom was an object easily to be attained, and that its accomplishment was an object of great public utility, and highly advantageous to the country, whose interests were confided to his care ; let it be supposed he was fully persuaded that the political existence of a powerful and dangerous neighbour could be extinguished, and that such an event would not only leave us without an enemy capable of contending with us, but insure to us the entire commerce of the world, admitting the possibility of the enterprise, and supposing it to have been completely successful : that France, no longer a vast and well-compacted nation, was broken into a variety of fragments, with scarce sufficient left of her antient domains to ascertain her former extent of territory ; her power irretrievably destroyed, and the pre-eminence of the British empire assured for ever ; if such an event had been the issue of the present contest, what opinion would have been entertained of the minister ? He would have been extolled and idolized until the vast arch above us re-echoed to our captivated ears the vile plaudits he received ! The event would have justified the base attempt of re-plunging a people just emerging from darkness, despotism, and despair,

into



into the brilliant atmosphere of liberty, to share, in common with ourselves, the blessings of a free constitution. The bold and indecent violation of all right would have been lost in the splendor of his triumphs, and in the same degree that he would have been applauded in victory, we find him defamed, execrated, and blasted in defeat.

Is this the boasted justice of mankind ! and is a minister criminal, because he is unfortunate ? Yet thus it is in the great code of nations ! the morality of their actions is a contingency on events, and measures become equitable or wise, rash or iniquitous, as they happen to prove ultimately fortunate or unfortunate. There is nothing forced, constrained, or assumed in this reasoning. The statement is fair. The facts upon which it is founded are recent within every man's memory, and cannot be controverted ; all the proud ties of national honour, combined with justice and policy ; all the milder and more immediate relations of private duty and affection, together with the whole of the multifarious barriers erected by religion and morality, in the vain hope of prescribing bounds to the rapacity of nations and of men, were scandalously, not to say impiously overleaped, and Heaven itself braved, when the attempt was made to dragoon three millions of our fellow subjects into *unconditional* submission. Three millions of people, and these people our brethren,

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our friends, and brothers, dragooned into unconditional submission ! It was the fiat of an individual, and a worthless senate was an accomplice in the infamy. Unconditional submission was the language of the minister ; it was that of parliament and of the nation. The last taught wisdom by adversity, compelled the second to measure back its ground, and put an end to what it ought never to have sanctioned, and the first was disgraced and driven from the power he had fatally abused, not because he was *culpable*, but because he was UNFORTUNATE. My motive for referring to this dishonourable contest, is not for the purpose of palliating the disasters of the present war, or to absolve ministers from any guilt they may have incurred, either in the objects they proposed to themselves from the contest, and upon which I am incompetent to judge, or from the mode in which they have conducted that contest, upon which every man is qualified to speak.

The purport of this reasoning is to counteract insidious hypocrisy, which avails itself of disaster to promote its own interested views, and that pitteously, affects to bewail an event, while it endeavours to turn its unpopularity to a profitable account. I am warranted by experience in the belief, that many who call the war unjust and unnecessary, would have called it equitable and  
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expedient if it had been glorious, and, above all, if it had suited their purpose. Their object is to get into office, and every calamity, every failure or unfavourable event becomes a lever in their corrupt hands, with which they labour with an industry proportioned to their necessities, in the hope of ultimately forcing the minister out of his place. I beg this may not be understood as applying altogether to the present times, or to every man indiscriminately who opposes the measures of the crown. I have no doubt but there are many who are influenced by a sense of right, and directed by a judgment capable of deciding; but I also know, and so does every man else, that there are others who are not actuated by such honourable motives, and who only join in the cry in the hope of coming in for a share of the spoil. Such men are unworthy of the confidence to which they aspire, and they trespass very much on our forbearance by their boast of public virtue. The mischiefs done to the public interest by this description of people, is not easily calculated; their motives being known, their clamors only give additional vigour and effect to the very ruin they oppose, and if the measures of men in power are either weak or wicked, the evil is without remedy. When repeated experience has convinced the people that the clamor against ministers is the result of cabal,

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and that though their measures are the pretexts, their places are the ends ; when the people, deceived by these pretexts, become indifferent to those clamors, and feeling the mortifying conviction, that whichever party is the victor, they alone are the dupes ; when gamblers and adventurers of every description come forward with an impudent boast of public virtue, and pretending an attachment to the interest of the people, claim their confidence and support, the honest man, ashamed of such companions, disdains to partake their triumphs, and leaves the field of patriotism to the mock combatants that engross it. Under such circumstances, no wonder that all confidence and support are withheld, and that the people insulted, harassed, and their patience exhausted, behold the efforts of such men with indifference, and their professions with scorn. When an opposition, fallen in the public opinion, has had all confidence withdrawn from it ; when its character counts for less in the public estimation than even its numbers, all constitutional check on the servants of the crown is removed, and an apathy favourable to despotism is preferred rather than resort to the terrible expedient of civil war and anarchy for relief.

I am very far from asserting that this applies in its whole extent to the present opposition ; I know that there are many very deserving, and most excellent characters in it—men, no less eminent for their public virtues and independent minds, than they are for their talents and amiable manners ; but I hazard no contradiction, and I am not afraid of giving offence when I assert, that the opposition has not that credit with the people which an opposition ought to have, and which can alone enable it to be an efficient check on the conduct of ministers. This is precisely the misfortune, or rather the evil, of which I complain ; it is an evil which every friend to peace, order, and liberty must sincerely deplore, and it well deserves to be traced to its source and explained. It was after many fierce efforts in the House of Commons, in which wit, argument, truth, policy, and right, had to contend against corrupt influence, that the former obtained a temporary triumph over the latter, and drove Lord North from a situation to which, from the natural indolence of his temper, he was only equal in times of profound peace.

It was at this epoch that Mr. Fox first displayed those astonishing abilities to which panegyric cannot do sufficient justice ; but having enlisted under the banners of a minister, deservedly unpopular for the part he took against



Mr. Wilkes, to whose zeal, courage, and perseverance this country has very serious obligations, Mr. Fox partook of the disgrace attached to the obnoxious measures he supported, and the dissipation into which he was seduced by fashion and example, did not contribute to give him that kind of popularity which in maturer life could alone have been worthy of his pursuit or choice.

I do not mean any illiberal reflection on the early manhood of Mr. Fox, when I assert that the hazard or pharo tables ought not to be the channel to high official trust, and that gaming is a vice as mean as it is mischievous, for it confounds the first and best characters in the state with the lowest and most vile. It resembles death by levelling all distinctions, and frequently by its consequences conducts its votaries to suicide, or an ignominious exit. Pharo tables and pharo men should be objects of vindictive justice; the former should be consigned to the flames, and the latter to the beadle, to be scourged into the wholesome habits of honest industry. It is impossible that Mr. Fox can have forgotten the period to which I allude, and he must have perfect recollection of the animated support which Lord North derived from his wonderful eloquence, in measures which were to the full as hostile to the liberties of the people, as those which

which he has lately opposed with an ardor worthy of his great abilities, and of the sacred cause of liberty ! worthy of an Englishman ; with an ardor which leaves no doubt in my mind of the sincerity of his contrition, and which justifies his claim to the applause he has received.

I do not wish to travel out of my way to discover matter of reproach against a man whom I am pleased to behold anxious to atone for the errors of a life most prodigally mispent. I pass over his quarrel, and the cause of that quarrel with the minister ; I shall only observe, that an event which soon afterwards happened, gave to private resentment, jealousy, and ambition, all the force, fame, and efficacy of public virtue. The American war, fortunately for Mr. Fox, happened soon after he broke with Lord North, and the steady manly opposition that was given to a measure at once iniquitous, impolitic, and impracticable, effaced from remembrance all that had been deemed offensive in his character. The excesses in which he had indulged were no longer condemned, and it was matter of exultation to his friends, and of admiration to every one else, that so much knowledge should be acquired, and matter of such vast variety and import, studied and understood, amidst the dissipations in which he was plunged and retained as in a vortex. In proportion as the obstinate perseverance of Lord North

angered men's minds, it added to the popularity of Mr. Fox, and this popularity was augmented by the solemn pledge he had given to bring the minister to justice ; convinced of his sincerity, it was expected when he came into office, that the promise repeatedly given would have been as faithfully realized, and the delinquent punished. But Mr. Fox had acquired his great object, and the people who before had been every thing, were taught to feel the mortifying and insulting distinction between a man in office and a man out of it. They found they were no longer of that account in the estimation of Mr. Fox in power, as they had been while he was in opposition. He had obtained, by the assurances he had given, their confidence on certain positive conditions, virtually agreed upon by both parties, unfortunately it was only fulfilled by one of them. It was due to the manes of slaughtered thousands ; it was due to the millions wantonly squandered in a dishonourable contest ; it was due to public justice that a delinquent minister should have been made an example of, and Mr. Fox was bound to have put Lord North on his trial. But Mr. Fox in power paid no attention to the promises he had repeatedly made when out of it.

*“ When the devil was ill, the devil a monk would be,*

*“ When the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.”*

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On this occasion Mr. Fox may be said to resemble a thing that is good in the *middle*, but rotten at *each end*.

If the people were surprised and offended at the impunity granted to a man whom they had been taught to believe would be impeached, their anger and surprise were much augmented on beholding this impunity assured to him by the very man who stood pledged to bring him to justice—by the very man who had publicly declared this guilty minister to be so infamous, that that he would not trust himself alone in the same room with him ! What the particular infamy was that rendered his Lordship so dangerous, I know not, but I cannot even yet account for the facility with which Mr. Fox forgot that infamy, and braved that danger, on any other principle than that of getting again into office ; and however desirable the object itself may have been, I am sure the means by which he obtained it, were far from honourable or justifiable.

The people were also of that opinion, and those who are in the habit of thinking rightly, think so yet. It revealed a very melancholy truth to the world, and a very fatal one to the reputation of the gentleman himself ; it shewed the very little confidence that ought to be reposed in the professions of public men, and that the

public good is less the object of their pursuits, than emolument, power, and distinction.

It was in the midst of this general and well-founded discontent, that the people, angered almost to madness, with a man who had imposed upon them in the first instance, and insulted them in the second, withdrew their confidence, and transferred to the present minister, whose youth, uncontaminated by the vices of the age, was an argument of his integrity, and pleaded most eloquently in his favour—whose person and whose name were alike unknown on the turf and at the gaming tables, and who seemed studiously to avoid those excesses which stain the infant character of manhood, and leave a stain for life.

The pardonable irregularities of Mr. Fox, at a very early period, had injured him in the opinion of those who estimate the merit of men by their parsimony ; there were others, who, with far more liberal ideas, were ill disposed to confide the honour and interests of a great empire to a man who had been so shamefully improvident of his own. The sincerity of Mr. Fox's professions in favour of the rights of the people was denied by some, and considered as very equivocal by all those who remember his violence towards the printers, and his attachment  
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to a minister who was certainly no friend to civil liberty.

It is not my wish to do injustice to any man, but the most partial of those who are attached to the gentleman in question, must acknowledge, that the brilliancy of his aurora was very much shaded by dissipated habits, and an alacrity to support arbitrary measures, at that period of his life when mankind are supposed to have the best and purest affections, with the fewest vices. With a character, which to speak favourably of it, is at least equivocal, it was the height of indiscretion in Mr. Fox to have coalesced with the man whom he had threatened to bring to the block, and whom he had alternately courted and spurned; to those who attentively consider the professions and conduct of public men, and by comparing the one with the other, judge of their merit and rectitude, there was less in this part of his conduct to surprise than to offend, while the nation, indignant at the insult, or rather stab, which had been given to public morals, by this more than scandalous union, appreciated the conduct as it deserved, and withdrew all confidence from the man who had deceived and insulted them.

It was at this epoch that Mr. Pitt, slow rising above the horizon in all the majesty of conscious  
dignity,

dignity, was hailed by his wounded country as its saviour and protector. The engaging simplicity of youthful innocence gave brilliancy to his dawn, while his degraded, fallen adversary, eclipsed by the lustre of a triumphant rival, sunk into darkness and oblivion ! O God ! it was a moment that virtue herself might have envied him—it was a moment worth centuries of fame, and if the sensibility of Mr. Pitt should (unhappily for his repose !) bear any proportion to the vigor of his understanding, the recollection of the rich possession he has lost, must render him the most wretched of mankind ! I shall not run into the unjust and illiberal extreme of vulgar indiscriminate censure ; I shall not pronounce in union with a senseless multitude, that a minister is culpable because he is unfortunate ; those, however, who would absolve Mr. Pitt from all blame, may mean well, but their zeal holds no place with discretion, and is likely to do him mischief, while those who attribute the whole of our disasters to his criminality, inflict a wrong that ill accords with the justice and generosity of an enlightened nation.

It is a lamentable truth, that mankind have a propensity to precipitate decision in matters of the greatest moment, while in the trivial concerns of common life, they submit to the fatigue of painful and accurate investigation before they pronounce.

pronounce. If deliberation is necessary in the latter instance, it is surely much more so in the former, where their dearest interests are no less concerned than the fame, fortune, or life perhaps of a minister, an admiral, or a general, who, in the event of a defeat or calamity, are often declared culpable, or perhaps denounced as traitors or as cowards, on the very arrival of disastrous intelligence. This is unfair. It is an evil of very wide extent and diffusive operation; it tends to eradicate every principle of justice from the human mind, and to make men little solicitous to deserve a reputation which may never be accorded to them, and which, when obtained, after many years honest toil and incessant application, may be torn from them by the calumny of a vindictive rival, or the accident of a moment. The fame of a minister, or of a commander in chief, ought not to be a contingency on chance. Each may have deserved well in disappointment and defeat, as well as in victory or success; each may have acted wisely and done the best, but success is a thing that rejects all discipline; it spurns command, and is as often, if not more frequently, the companion of fortune than of merit. It is too much the practice of the world to applaud the fortunate, and while it inflicts on adversity all the odium due to crime, it forgets that events are not within the grasp of power, and that dis-

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appointment and defeat do not require the additional aggravation of injustice or reproach, to make them more bitter and calamitous.

To form a just idea of the administration of Mr. Pitt, it will be necessary to examine the whole of it in one compact entire mass—not in pitiful detail—not any particular measure that the malice of party may seize and fasten upon as most favourable to their purpose. It will also be necessary to recollect the situation of the country, when the united voice of that country vociferously called on him to assume the administration of her dearest interests. The disgraceful circumstances that marked that period are not yet beyond our memory and observation; they are yet very distinct to our vision, and we are in some sort the victims of their turpitude, for the lost and bankrupt character of opposition at that moment, released ministers from the restraint they would have been under, if their opponents had held that dignified rank in the public mind, which can alone render an opposition a check on weak and guilty men, and which an opposition influenced by public virtue, and intent solely on the public good, will ever possess; but the confidence was forfeited almost as soon as it was granted. The people beheld with equal anger and surprise, that an administration pretending to public virtue, had

had commenced its career by a marked contempt of one of the conditions on which it came into power, and by superseding an admiral \* commanding in chief, in the very moment and splendor of victory, not to reward merit of equal pretensions in another, but to enable a man † to repair his ruined fortunes who had been beggared at the gaming table. The coalescing with Lord North, whom they had supplanted and stood pledged to punish, completed their disgrace, and destroyed in a great degree the credit of future oppositions. The nation, disgusted and disheartened, resented the deception, and gave to ministers a confidence which they have of late almost as ill managed as their predecessors.

The subsequent conduct of a part of that opposition has not contributed to inspire the people with much confidence in the professions of public men, nor with much reverence for men decorated with great names. ‡ The marine phrase introduced

\* Lord Rodney.

† Admiral Pigott.

‡ If some men of this description; men whose only inheritance is their wealth or coronets; whose education, conduct, and capacities would disgrace a stable yard, and who have the folly to expect, and the insolence to require the homage due only to talents and integrity, should represent me as an enemy to aristocracy; if, (for there are such characters even in this country) they should be joined in this calumny by those who cringe and dangle on nobility; by those whose prostituted minds, incapable



introduced as a device by a professional man of the party, was no longer the signal of union.

pable of elevation, run after titles, and give them the attributes of divinity; if these men, these he-gossips, who barter their freedom for a dinner at the table of a peer, and who at once sycophants and tale-bearers, trot about the streets from morning till night, picking up anecdotes, scandal, or news for his Lordship or Grace; if these men should join in the malevolent whisper, and propagate by faint echoes, for they have not the courage to speak out, the slanders of their master, it is to my general conduct—it is to my conversation and my writings—it is to the honest testimony of an impartial world that I appeal, to vindicate me from their vile and injurious falsehoods.

I agree with Mr. Burke, that the nobility are the Corinthian order in the state, and as such, I am ever ready to respect, and in case of necessity, to defend them with all the vigour that a feeble arm can exert; but when the miserable imitations of a bungling carpenter which uphold an ill-constructed pent, is presented to my vision as the rich columns of Vitruvius, which ought alone to grace and dignify the grand portico of the British temple, my indignation is excited in proportion to the insult offered to my understanding, and I pity the fool that mistakes a post for a pillar.

High founding titles may have operated as a talisman on the uninformed minds of our rude ancestors in the extinguished days of feudal vassalage, but in these more enlightened times, far different ideas are annexed to titles. Men have learnt to form a better estimate of things, and it is reason, not prejudice or ignorance, that appreciates their value. In men who are noble; either by descent or creation, we expect to see the nobleness of virtue and of talents justifying their proud claim to distinction; but when the blockhead or the knave, vain of his coronet, presents that bauble as a certificate of his sense or of his honesty, it is not merit that we behold rewarded, but vice or folly dignified.

“ *A pull*

*“ A pull, a strong pull and a pull all together,”* was certainly good council. They pulled, and pulled strongly, but not all together; they pulled in different directions, the rope broke, and down they all fell, some scrambled one way, some another; one man got snug into the Admiralty; another, curbed by age, avarice, and disease,\* hid himself and one of his children under a large table; a third stole off for the Horse Guards; a fourth ran into the Treasury; a fifth set off for Ireland, and came back again, ashamed of what he had done; a sixth sneaked off quietly away to Lincoln's Inn, while a seventh, more crafty than all the rest, made a dart at the Exchequer, and seizing in his merciless gripe all he could find, scampered off with his pelf to Beaconsfield.

\* What confidence or respect can the people have in its ministers or in parliament, when they find, by lamentable experience, that the former cannot carry on the public business without submitting to the exactions of avarice in the latter. I do not like to recur to names, nor is it necessary; but what services can the second son of this wretched minister have rendered to his country, to entitle him to the enormous sinecure obtained for him by his father? If it should be said that the minister could not have had the support of the latter without this arrangement, or rather donation to a boy at school, I answer, that it was one of those abuses that call loudly for remedy, and that must be remedied, if it is meant to preserve the constitution; and if his Lordship had the indecency to exact such a concession as the terms upon which he would alone agree to quit opposition, and support the servants of the crown, it is a ward in Bridewell that he should occupy, and not a seat in the British cabinet.

The rest were left on the pavé, but taught wisdom by experience ; I hope they feel the necessity in this perilous moment of a conduct more correct, and hereafter prove, that what they want in numbers, they will make good in zeal, talents, and integrity. In repeating what has become history, I mean no offence to the individuals of any party ; my object is to account for the present deplorable state of the opposition in this country, and not to compliment the present administration with having acquired confidence in proportion as their opponents have lost it. No such thing, the security of the former arises less from the justice of their claims, than from the difficulty of replacing them ; the question is not so much whether they deserve their situations, as who can be found worthy of the public confidence to succeed them. If ministers have lately lost ground, opposition has not gained any, and but for the extraordinary events which have shaken the repose of the world for a century perhaps, the latter would long since have glided down the ever ebbing stream of time, and have been totally forgotten. The eddy of a current is always in proportion to its rapidity.

The innumerable events which have occurred since Mr. Fox resumed the dignified and important station of a chief of a party, have by their wonderful velocity and succession, forced him back again upon our notice, to something like  
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the position he held before the close of the American war. It remains with ministers to exclude him from the honours of a second triumph, by adopting wiser councils, and pursuing better measures. If my information is correct, he has no objection to such a compromise; I am assured that if he can gain something for the country, he will desire nothing for himself, and I am inclined to believe him sincere in this declaration, from what I have heard of his general habits.

Having rendered this justice to Mr. Fox, I feel it a duty to repel a calumny, to which, by supporting it, he has given a degree of credit highly unworthy of his justice, if his information on the subject is complete, and disgraceful to his candor and liberality, if he has taken the matter upon trust, as an expedient to affect a change in his Majesty's councils. An unpopular war is at all times a very hazardous measure, and it was more so for Mr. Pitt than for any former minister; his reputation was pledged to a system of œconomy, and it was decidedly the object he had most at heart, and to which he had evidently given the most unremitting attention. His interest, his duty, his own particular bent of mind, the pursuits the most acceptable to him, all conspired to dispose him to peace in preference to war, and (exclusive of facts and documents from which no appeal can be made) strongly prove, that he was reluctantly forced



forced into measures obnoxious to his inclinations, and which of all others was the most fatal to his favourite object, and the most hazardous to engage in. These are facts well known, and with these in our memory, there is something worse than calumny in asserting that he sought the war, and travelled out of his road to find the strumpet, and bring her home to his dwelling. It was not for the purpose of replacing the head of Lewis the Sixteenth on his mutilated body, that an English minister would have dared to have gone to war ; neither was it to extricate the hapless Queen, whose fortitude in affliction eclipses the boasted heroine of man, from the labyrinth of a prison and the assassins of her husband ; morally speaking, such an attempt in an individual would have been laudable, and, if successful, entitled to all the honours of chivalry, but nations are not to turn night-errants, and run wild after adventures. Kingdoms have one policy and individuals another ; what would be heroic in a man, might be vicious and unpardonable in a state. The latter has the happiness of millions in charge, and must consult the security and prosperity of the whole ; the other exposes only himself or his family, and may be permitted an act of extravagance in favour of distressed humanity, without incurring much censure, or producing any calamity of serious extent to the community. It is absurd to suppose



pose that ministers could ever have been so indiscreet as to attach any serious importance to names; it is of little consequence what name the man bears to whom the interests of a nation are confided, whether it is Legendre or Burke, provided those interests are faithfully administered; nor can I believe that it was ever an object for which ministers would have hazarded a contest, whether France was a monarchy or a republic; and though for very obvious reasons they might prefer the former, they ought not, and could not, in justice, have made any objection to the latter. How far they might have been disposed to go to war, I cannot take upon me to decide, but from what I had occasion to observe towards the close of the year 1792, and the commencement of the year 1793, and so far as my penetration enabled me to judge of the intentions of Mr. Pitt, I have every reason to believe they were perfectly pacific. I am even persuaded that he was averse to hostilities, until the executive council left him no other alternative.

The great ground of argument with opposition is, and it would be very high and inaccessible, if they could keep it as easily as they have taken it, that M. Maret came over to this country to treat, and that ministers refused to treat with him. This assertion is in all its parts the very reverse of truth, and it has always been

matter of very great concern to me, that Mr. Fox, whom I wish to see regarded as an authority, should have persisted in assertions which I have it in my power so completely to contradict. The origin and conduct of the war are two very distinct things, and as the latter has certainly been at once erroneous and disastrous, it is an act of justice to keep them separate and distinct, that ministers should not have more to answer for than is consistent with facts. If the war was unavoidable, as I trust it will hereafter appear, ministers will be absolved from a great portion of blame, and all the criminality annexed to aggression.

It is not probable that I hold any place in the affections of Mr. Fox, perhaps I hold as little in those of Mr. Pitt. If the severity with which I have censured a conduct which appeared to me highly reprehensible, excludes me from his friendship, I have certainly a claim to his justice. I think too highly of his mind, not less manly than splendid, to believe it capable of intentional wrong, and differing with him as I have done, I feel assured he will give me credit for veracity, and pay that attention to the information he will receive, which is due to truth.

At the period the most awful for this country, and the most difficult for her ministers, Mr. Fox was

was in the habit of seeing M. Chauvelin, who, to his other indiscretions, made it an argument of merit with his employers, that he was in confidential intercourse with those who were in direct hostility to the measures of the sovereign to whom he was accredited, and with whose ministers alone he ought to have communed on public affairs respecting the interests of the two nations.

The folly and impropriety of this conduct in the French envoy would not have had any importance annexed to it, if it had not been countenanced by the French executive council. If M. Le Brun and his associates had wished well to this country ; if it had really been their wish to avoid hostilities, they would carefully have abstained from whatever might have given umbrage or excited the jealousy of government ; and, above all, they would have reprimanded their envoy, if their dispositions towards Great Britain had been pacific, when he made a proud boast, and urged it as an argument for his being continued after they had recalled him : that though he was ill with ministers, he was well with opposition. They did no such thing ; on the contrary, they admitted the plea, and allowed him to remain.

I will not distress Mr. Fox by asking him the interpretation that ought to be given to this conduct in the executive council, but I call upon him to say what he would have thought, while

he was in office, of any foreign minister who would have acted as M. Chauvelin, and what confidence he would have had in the pacific declarations of the court that employed and countenanced him? At the period to which I allude, the French envoy in England shewed his instructions to a gentleman who is much in the confidence of Mr. Fox, to whom I am well known, and who is in Parliament, and these instructions positively stated that the "*Scheldt*" "*would not be given up, and that Le Brun was resolved to insist upon the acknowledgment of the French republic in the person of M. Chauvelin, preliminary to all explanation of the differences that had arisen.*" As to M. Chauvelin, he made no secret of declaring, that if he was not received at St. James's, the height of his ambition would be to leave this country with a declaration of war.

If there was any real cause for a misunderstanding between the two nations, this gentleman had nothing conciliatory in his temper to have softened matters, and to have disposed the two governments to peace; and if it was the mutual wish of each party to seek a pretext for quarrel, France certainly could not have selected a better object for the purpose. The conduct of the executive council in chusing at such a moment a man with such little capacity, dignity, and temper, will serve, I hope, as a negative lesson of advice

advice to Lord Grenville in his diplomatic arrangements.

The communication made by the French minister of his instructions, to a gentleman in avowed hostility to government, argued no favourable disposition towards that government. That Mr. Fox should have every information in my power to give him, I will state in detail the entire history of the irregular communications which afterwards ensued through other channels than that of M. Chauvelin, at least as far as I was concerned in them, and I will prove to him by the authority of M. Maret, of whom I shall ever speak with affection and respect, that at the time he obtained the interview with Mr. Pitt, he had neither mission nor authority to see the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor any other minister, nor to treat on public affairs. Mr. Fox, on what authority I know not, has always pertinaciously asserted the contrary, and on a late debate, when he proposed a change of system,\* this charge was renewed, and the minister accused in direct terms of having provoked the war, by refusing to see M. Maret, when he came over authorised to treat.

It shall be my business to prove, that M. Maret, in the first instance, had no such object; and in

\* In May 1796, a few days previous to the dissolution of Parliament.



the second, he declined applying for an interview, until he had received fresh instructions, which he supposed would have been necessary, from the circumstance of M. Chauvelin having been ordered to quit the kingdom.

This is not the place to enter into the objects of the war, or of the conduct of it. On the one I am not competent to decide, and as to the other, it is before the world, and unfortunately needs neither herald nor historian. My object is to prove that France was more disposed to war than to peace, and that she not only declared the war, but provoked it.

When I returned to this country, after a residence of many years on the continent, I preserved by correspondence the intimacies I had made, and my attachment to a rational, well-ordered liberty was well known in the different countries where I had resided; it procured me the friendship, and an epistolary intercourse with those at Paris, who, as well as myself, considered revolutions as necessary, only in the degree that they are conducive to the happiness and freedom of mankind. A mission with which I had been charged to the Prince Bishop of Liege, and which proved I had been in relation with the minister, was no secret at Paris, and the known circumstances attending that mission were very  
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far

far from injuring me in the opinion of those with whom I corresponded.

In the month of September I saw a person from Le Brun, who wished to obtain, through me, an interview with the minister, but having reason to suspect the good faith of the principal, and having no personal knowledge of the agent, I declined interfering. Some other applications were made to me, which, from the little importance annexed to them, I did not think myself authorised to communicate to government. Much about this time, a person whose father has had an high official situation in France, and with whose family I had lived in habits of intimacy, called frequently upon me, and as he had been in the diplomatic line, and to a very excellent understanding, added a very sincere love of peace and good order, our conversations were without reserve. Towards November they assumed a consequence which made me more attentive to them than usual, and on the 13th of that month it struck me as so very important, that I begged leave of my friend to commit it to paper.\*

This is the origin of the interview which M. Maret afterwards had with Mr. Pitt, and it deserves attention, not only from its matter, but its date, for it was at that period that the storm

\* Vide Appendix. No. I.

which has since fatally burst upon both countries, assumed a very ill foreboding aspect. It is also worthy of observation, that the executive council had made up their minds at this time on the part they had resolved to take. It is also very evident, that unacquainted with the force and genius of our language, they attributed every ardent expression in favour of liberty, to an impatient desire to subvert the government; and as our debating societies at this period held bold, animated language, which appeared to the French as the extreme of violence, the executive council looked upon a revolt as inevitable. This error arose no less from the difference of the two languages, than from the exaggerated accounts which were sent to Paris, of the state of the public mind in this country. The warmth with which an Englishman expresses himself is very liable to be misunderstood and misinterpreted by those foreigners who are not well acquainted with our manners and our language; and hence one cause of the error into which Le Brun and his colleagues were betrayed, and hence the cause of the undeserved reproaches which some of these debating societies incurred. I have printed the note exactly as it was taken in the presence of the person with whom I conversed, omitting nothing but some wild assertions respecting the views and influence of these societies, which he, as well as the

the rest of his countrymen, considered as means in the last resort, to force the British cabinet to chuse between dishonourable concession and a war, which they considered would place the minister so completely between two fires, that government, assailed at the same time by civil insurrection and foreign hostility, would inevitably fall, and this country, incapable of mischief, would fall into impotency and ruin by their own distractions.

Such I aver on the faith of an honest man, were the delusive hopes entertained by Le Brun, and many others, who, unfortunately for both nations, had more power and influence at that moment than sense and discretion, and whose fatal errors most probably accelerated the terrible crisis that soon after happened. It unquestionably was the policy of this country to observe the strictest neutrality, and this policy was so obvious, that ministers would certainly not have departed from it, if they had not been compelled, *ce n'est pas assez qu'une nation soit pacifique, il faut que toutes les deux le soient.*

I had frequent interviews after this period (the 13th November) with the same person; he came to me very often, and on the return of the courier he had dispatched to Paris, he assured me he was authorised to request an interview

with Mr. Pitt, and desired my good offices to obtain it. I desired him to state himself to the minister that he had something to communicate on the part of the executive council, and begged to know when he could be honoured with an interview. This he declined, assuring me that so many unsuccessful efforts had been made to get access both to Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, that he was discouraged, and again urged me to use my interest in consideration of the great stake at issue. No less ardent than himself to prevent the calamities of war, I desired him not to deceive me, and lead me to an error, which he would do, if he was not really authorised by Le Brun. He solemnly protested that he was, and having some reason to believe that he had been pressed to make use of my agency by Le-Brun, I communicated the information to Mr. Pitt, that a person was in town who had a matter of importance relative to the two countries to communicate to him. I was requested to name him, but this I declined, until I had a positive assurance that he would be received,\* and a rendezvous given; but before the meeting took place, I again pressed the person not to deceive me, that it would prevent my interference again, and defeat the very purpose it was his wish to obtain. I stated the ridicule he would draw on himself, and the anger he would incur, if he was not really authorised by

\* Vide Appendix, No. II.



the executive council to request the interview I had obtained for him—that there was sufficient time to obtain instructions, and that the interview, under pretence of indisposition, might be easily postponed for a few days, in which a messenger might go to Paris and return. Mr. \*\*\*\* again protested that he was authorised to see Mr. Pitt, and we parted.

A confidential person of the minister saw him at my house ; what I had suspected was then evident, it was not him, but another that was authorised to confer with the minister, and when this second person was produced to Mr. Pitt, he had no more to state, and had as little authority from the executive council to enter into any discussion as the first.\* This person is the very gentleman whom Mr. Fox has positively and invariably asserted came over to treat with ministers, and that ministers refused to see him.

The mission of M. Maret to England at this time related solely to the domestic concerns of the late Duke of Orleans ; and it is a justice due to the integrity of the former, to say, that he never pretended to have had any other. It is also a justice due to this gentleman to declare, that he was strenuously against the war, and as anxious as it was possible to preserve a good un-

\* Vide Appendix, No. III.

derstanding between the two nations. He had a sincere unaffected respect for the English nation, and was well calculated to have prevented, by his conciliatory and engaging disposition, the fatal extremity to which both countries have been driven, if he had been allowed to return, after his interview with Mr. Pitt, charged with full powers to discuss the important objects which irritated the two nations to madness.

I do not know upon what authority Mr. Fox has taken upon him to charge, in direct terms, the minister with a decided aversion to enter into an amicable discussion with the French government, of the matters that seemed offensive to both, previous to the unfortunate contest that ensued. Mr. Fox had the means of better information, if M. Chauvelin had been either faithful to his trust, or explicit ; and to have gone upon random report ; to have brought a charge against a minister, which, if true, should render him responsible as far as his forfeit life can atone for crimes so great, for all the blood that has been shed, and the millions that have been squandered, without strong and sufficient evidence of the fact, may be the vile expedient of a distressed and hungry faction, impatient to get into office, upon any terms, and by any means ; but it is unworthy of a great and dignified mind aspiring to the government of a vast empire, and fully ca-

pable of conducting its various complicated interests. Whatever may have been the sources of Mr. Fox's information; whoever may have been his correspondents, either in this country or in France, I will take upon me to assert, and I have it under the hand of the party,\* whose anger for exposing his letters, I will hazard in a cause so just, and trust to his generosity for pardoning, what under any other circumstances, or from any other motive, would have been a gross indecorum. I am satisfied from the manner in which M. Maret has always expressed himself of Mr. Pitt, that he would have authorised the publication of the letter I have produced, and done justice to the cordiality with which he was received, and to the pacific sentiments of the minister, at the conference into which he was betrayed.

I have already stated that the person who had repeatedly applied to me to obtain an interview with the minister, under repeated assurances that he had a communication to make from the executive council, had no such authority. I have also stated, that the person whom he produced when the rendezvous was given, was M. Maret, and that M. Maret had as little authority as his friend; and on penetrating through this intrigue, I had reason to be offended at the falsehood

\* Vide Appendix, No. IV.

practised upon me in the first instance, and on the minister in the second. In consequence of this deceit, the cause of which I will explain at a future period, I wrote to Le Brun, and to the party that had imposed upon me; M. Maret, in a letter dated Paris, January 11, 1793, in answer to a warm remonstrance on the conduct of his friend, very candidly acknowledges that he was neither a secret agent, nor charged with any mission. (Vide Appendix, No. IV.)

That such was not his object is certainly true, and I have his authority for asserting, that Mr. Pitt acknowledged it would give him great pleasure to “*treat with him (M. Maret) as a confidential person from the French executive council.*” This certainly did not look like an insolent contempt of the French nation, or an unwillingness on the part of the minister to treat with the French government. M. Maret was so well pleased with his reception, that he fully expected to have been authorised, by the return of the courier, whom he dispatched to Paris, to treat confidentially with government; and if he had acted with less frankness towards M. Chauvelin; if he had not informed the French envoy, already alarmed, and jealous of every Frenchman that arrived, of the interview, it is very probable that Le Brun would have acceded to the solicitations of M. Maret; but M. Chauvelin, jealous that

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a conference should have been granted, and apprehensive that he would be supplanted, counteracted the projects of the man whom he considered as his rival, and exerted himself so successfully on the first information of what had happened, that the answer transmitted from the executive council contained a severe reprimand, and forbidding M. Maret, in rather angry terms, to enter into any explanation whatever, or even to speak to Mr. Pitt on the subject of public affairs, ordered him to refer the English minister to M. Chauvelin, who was furnished with the proper explanations, and to return to Paris immediately. He was at my house when the dispatch arrived, and I read it with the more surprise and indignation, on finding that Le Brun had reported to the convention, that Mr. Pitt, alarmed, had solicited an interview with the secret agents of the executive council in England, but that he (Le Brun) had expressly forbidden them to have any communication with the English minister, but to refer him to the ambassador of the republic.

It was in consequence of this report, as insolent as it was unjust, that I wrote to Le Brun,\* that he might retract an error in which I found myself involved, and which altered very materially

\* Vide Appendix, No. V.



the position of the two governments, and might have a very mischievous influence on their respective proceedings. I will submit it to the candor of Mr. Fox, to say whether Le Brun, if he had been well disposed towards this country, would have so scandalously misinterpreted that conference ; or if the executive council would have permitted it, if they had not been well inclined to irritate and provoke ministers into a contest, and which it was the firm belief in Paris would instantly occasion a revolt throughout this country ?

This I aver as a fact, and so fully assured were the French of the fact, so fatally deceived had they been, either by bad men of their own country, or bad men in this, that one of the secret agents, for there were a constant supply of them, assured me, that “ *such was the actual state of Great Britain, that we did not dare to call out the militia.*” If I had reason to be offended with the first report of Le Brun, I had much more cause of displeasure at the second ; nor did I till this epoch despair of peace, notwithstanding my letters from Paris were calculated to prepare me for an event which my friends foresaw was inevitable.\* The whole of M. Le Brun’s conduct throughout this correspondence, was marked with such strong duplicity, and such

\* Vide Appendix, No. VI.

evident averſion to an amicable arrangement with this country. He was ſo eager to ſeize on every trifling occurrence, and to make the moſt of every trifling event, that, incenſed at his perſiſting to inflame the people againſt this country, I wrote a very ſevere reproof to the perſon whom I conſidered as the cauſe of the errors into which Le Brun, Briffot, and others had fallen, and eſpecially as I found the French Miniſter obſtinately reſolved to bring forward the falſhood of which I complained, on every occaſion where he thought it would answer his purpoſe.

It is rather extraordinary that there ſhould be ſuch little agreement on this occaſion between the declarations of M. Le Brun, and the aſſertions of Mr. Fox. The former of theſe gentlemen goes to the French convention in the character of ſecretary of ſtate, and exultingly tells them that the Engliſh miniſter, humbled and alarmed, has provoked a conference with the ſecret agents of the republic in London, but that they had been forbidden to enter into any diſcuſſion with him on public affairs; while the latter gentleman as obſtinately maintains that Mr. Pitt reſuſed to ſee a perſon who had been ſent over on purpoſe to treat with him, and which that perſon as peremptorily denies.\*

\* Vide Appendix, No. IV.

It does not become me to decide which of the two gentlemen on this occasion is worthy of credit. Mr. Fox is equally unfortunate in ascribing the war to the minister, and no less so in asserting, that the French nation was disposed to peace. If he will give himself the trouble to refer to the Appendix, No. I. he will find a contrary disposition announced, even in November, 1792, and if any credit is due to the information of M. Maret, it will be seen that England only furnished one cause of war in the abusive language of two gentlemen in the House of Commons, (Messrs. Burke and Windham) while France was stimulated to quarrel with us by her enthusiasm and her victories; by her pride, by her courage, and by her resources, all of which M. Maret very candidly acknowledges, on the 5th of January, 1793, are the great obstacles that he finds to an amicable arrangement, but which he opposes with a boldness and a freedom worthy of his talents and his virtues.\* The day previous to his writing to me I had written to him, and my letter proves that it was to the folly, or something worse, of Le Brun, that I imputed the war, which it was easy to foresee was inevitable.† I have other documents in my possession, which all tend to prove that France was too much intoxicated with her success, and too confident that she was invincible, to keep any measures with a nation whom it was

\* Vide Appendix, No. VII.

† Vide Appendix, No. VIII.

her misfortune to behold in no other light than as a very powerful neighbour and rival, and whom she thought it was necessary to humble, if not to crush. As January advanced, my hopes of peace decreased, yet my efforts were continued, and in consequence of a communication from M. Le Brun, accompanied by a number of questions, I wrote to him on the 2d of January, 1793,\* very fully in answer to all that had been demanded.

My letter, dated the 11th of January,† was another exhortation to peace, in the vain hope, that Le Brun would have seen by my repeated remonstrances, how very much his own fortunes depended on the preservation of peace, independent of far more important considerations. Disheartened at the gloomy prospect, and offended at his duplicity and rashness, I wrote to him for the last time, on the 18th of the same month, and closed a fruitless correspondence with him for ever.‡ I did not, however, renounce all intercourse with M. Maret, in whom I had the satisfaction to behold united great talents with great frankness, and a very ardent and unaffected wish that the two nations should live in peace and amity. The wisest course that this country could have taken, and the policy to which she long since should have resorted, was an alliance

\* Vide Appendix, No. IX. † Vide Appendix, No. X.

‡ Vide Appendix, No. XI.

with France. It was the wish of several with whom I had lived in habits of intimacy, and a measure that I took the liberty to suggest to Mr. Pitt in 1786, when the commercial treaty was under consideration;\* whether an union so desirable in itself, and so necessary to the interest, not only of the two nations, but of

\* I do not arrogate to myself the merit of this idea, although it had struck me as politic and practicable early in 1781. It was evident, that if such an union could be effected between the two greatest nations in Europe, that the peace of the world would be assured for ever, and that both countries would be at liberty to cultivate the arts of peace; in the course of my rambles on the continent I met, in 1785, with a French nobleman who was on the eve of coming over from the French minister, the Duc d'Aiguillon, (father to the present Duke) soon after the peace of 1763, with a similar project to our government. He had the goodness to tell me the outline of the meditated alliance, and as a proof of the sincerity of the French Court, and to avoid giving any cause of jealousy to England, France would have offered to limit her navy to fifty sail of ships of war. A change of councils prevented this offer being made, and with the permission of the person who communicated it to me, I sent the account to Mr. Pitt. Would to heaven he had adopted the idea! It is a lamentable reflection that the two greatest, and by far the most civilized and intelligent nations in Europe, should live in rancorous and perpetual hostility to each other, contrary to their own happiness and interest, contrary to the happiness and interest, perhaps, of all the world! That a wiser policy may respectively influence their future councils, and that they may soon cease to be enemies, will ever be the ardent prayer of a man who offers his reflections to the world, for perhaps the last time, on a variety of topics, which have long engaged his attention, and whose wish it ever has been, that mankind should be free and happy!



all Europe, will ever be realised, I know not, but if ever this country should feel the importance of such an union, and take any step towards it, I feel assured that it will meet with every assistance from M. Maret, who, rescued by the valor of his countrymen from the power of a despot, and returned to France, may hereafter, perhaps, have the glory of happily accomplishing, what he most ardently wished, and unsuccessfully attempted in 1792. This is not only a tribute of private personal regard, but of truth due to his philanthropy and talents.\*

Having demonstrated that this gentleman, by his own confession, had no mission to the British government, nor any authority to treat with Mr. Pitt at the period that the interview took place between them, it only remains to speak of his journey to this country towards the latter end of January 1793, when alone he could be said to have been authorised to make any propositions, and here I will admit the statement of Mr. Fox to be correct, as far as it relates to the *mission* of M. Maret, but that all intercourse with him was refused by the King's servants, I positively deny, and for the best of all possible reasons, because it had never been solicited. On the same authority that I contradicted the former assertion, I deny this. The authority of M. Maret, who

\* The neutrality of the Swiss territory was indecently as well as impolitically violated, and the person of this gentleman and that of M. Semonville illegally seized, on their way to Naples and Constantinople.

may certainly be allowed to know as much of the matter as those who on such little foundation, have so repeatedly urged it in Parliament as a fact worthy of its attention, worthy its highest censure, and which if true, would justify the severest punishment that national vengeance could inflict on a guilty minister. That M. Maret was dispatched to England preparatory to the projected embassy of M. Dumourier, who, invested with full powers, was finally to have arranged all differences and to have returned immediately, is most certainly true, and it is worthy of observation, that on the very day, and I believe at the very hour, that M. Chauvelin set off for Paris, M. Maret departed for London. Apprehensive that the sudden appearance of M. Chauvelin in the Convention, aggravated by inflammatory misrepresentations, would make it necessary for the executive council to change the instructions they had given, and, impressed with this idea, M. Maret wrote to Le Brun, *that he should not desire an interview with the English minister, until fresh instructions arrived.* His stay in London was eight days, and it was on his landing at Dover, that he wrote, in very pressing terms, to the executive council for these instructions. The only official notice that Lord Grenville had of M. Maret's arrival in town, was a note merely to apprise his Lordship, that he (M. Maret) had come over to take charge of the diplomatic

diplomatic papers in the house of the French envoy. This was all the intercourse that passed, and all the communication that was made to any of his Majesty's ministers, except a letter, which was sent by M. Maret at the instant of his final departure from London, addressed to Lord Grenville.

It is a justice due to the unaffected anxiety of M. Maret for peace, to say, that he deprecated the fatal obstinacy and silence of the executive council ; and on our taking leave of each other, at midnight, previous to his departure, he expressed the deepest concern at not having received a single line or direction during the whole time of his stay in England. My wish was, that he should have paid no attention to the departure of M. Chauvelin, but to have been guided by the instructions he had, and this I incessantly urged to him every day ; it was a line of conduct that I would have observed, under similar circumstances, in order to preserve, if possible, a communication ; but the fact was, M. Maret had very little to say, and that little was partly rendered unimportant by subsequent occurrences ; this plain fact, however, is clearly evident, that if the executive council had not been resolved to avoid all explanation with this country, it would, as they had a confidential person on the spot, and charged with

with a particular mission, have availed themselves of his ministry to have preserved, if possible, a good understanding between the two countries; and what gives additional force to this conjecture is, that one of the offences for which Le Brun suffered death, was that of having involved his country in a war with England, and this sentence of the French nation against their own minister I hold to be a virtual acquittal of the English one.\*

I should suppose that M. Maret was to the full as likely to know whether Mr. Pitt declined all intercourse with him, as Mr. Fox, and if the testimony of the first gentleman, whose veracity I have no reason to question, is entitled to credit, the charges so indecently urged against the second by the third, fall instantly to the ground, and under such circumstances of odium and suspicion, that must make him blush at having asserted what has been so completely refuted. When the rash measure which gave a triumph to M. Chauvelin, and a wound to both nations, put an end to all negotiation, I wrote a letter † to one of the very few agents of the executive council, with whom I lived in habits of intimacy, and whose ardor to preserve peace equalled my own. He was one of the very few who exerted

\* It was also *one* of the charges against Brissot, and for which he suffered death.

† Vide Appendix, No. XII.

themselves to rescue the executive council from that delusion in which it was artfully kept, and which may be seen by the reports of Le Brun\* to the Convention; all France was persuaded that a general revolt throughout this country would instantly follow a declaration of war, and I will do justice to the understanding of Le Brun, by saying that I firmly believe, that this delusion was a very great stimulus to the war that ensued. Ruminating upon the additional scenes of horror into which Europe was by this fatally wild and atrocious act to be deeper plunged; combining the various threats which had been thrown out in various ways, and the impudent reflections on the known loyalty of the British nation, with the afflictions of the fatherless, and of the widows whom hostilities would throw on the cold charity of the world, I endeavoured to alleviate the afflictions of the latter, and to repel the injurious slanders of the former, by opening a subscription for the relief of the widows and children of such soldiers and seamen who should fall in the contest. It was the suggestion of the moment in the course of a conversation with an only child, over our humble and evening repast;† the idea

\* M. Le Brun not only accounted that we were on the eve of an insurrection, but threatened to appeal to the people against their government, in the criminal hope of setting the former against the latter.

† Vide Appendix, No. XIII.



was adopted, and a meeting held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, and to give it all possible publicity, I wrote circular letters to the magistrates in the great towns throughout the three kingdoms, to the commanding flag officers at all the sea ports, to the commissioners at the dock yards, and to all the officers on the impress service. The gentlemen at Lloyd's Coffee-house, with a munificence worthy of the first city in the world, adopted, on the first suggestion, a similar idea, with a view to reward valor and patriotism in the naval service of their country; and I feel an honest pride in declaring that the state of both funds, present the most flattering proofs of the wealth and splendid liberality of the British nation. Having vindicated the minister, and I trust successfully, from the charge of having declined all intercourse with M. Maret, and of having involved the country in war; I trust this act of common justice, due to truth as well as to Mr. Pitt, will not be attributed by the gentlemen who are not in the habits of social intercourse with him, or who do not support him in the House of Commons, to any motive but the one that I have this instant assigned. If they do, it will be an injustice that will affect my reputation much less than their own, and occasion me no other regret, than that they should have so very much forgotten what they owe more to themselves than to me.

I do not think ill of Mr. Fox because he is in opposition to Mr. Pitt; I would as little condemn the former when he is in the right, as I would support the latter when he is in the wrong. Both these men are but shrubs on the vast plain, and would never have been known but for the accident that transplanted them from the crowd; ministers are not to be looked at distinctly from their measures, nor their measures distinctly from the constitution. They are all to be viewed, examined, and judged of together, not separately, but by the relation which they have to truth, to common sense, and to the common interests of all. I have no other rule to go by; but if personal affection is permitted to decide or influence our judgment on the conduct of public men, in the high and important concerns of public trust and duty; if we are to estimate their integrity and their capacities by the conviviality or the facility of their tempers, or their liberality in complimenting their followers and dependants with what was intrusted to them for far different purposes, adieu to public virtue—adieu to all fair and honest pretensions—adieu to that great and powerful check, which even bad men feel, when they know that others are not as servile or as corrupt as they are unprincipled. There may, perhaps, be much warmth in my writings; a warmth approaching even to intemperance, but my writings are as far removed from perversity, as

they are from venality, and shall never have the miserable interests of party for their object.

I feel no ambition to be associated with those time-serving pamphleteers who write for the purpose of keeping one faction in office, or of driving another out; still less will I deserve to be confounded with that despicable banditti of itinerant scribblers who compel timid virtue to ransom itself from unmerited slander, or that exacts from the pockets of splendid infamy the price of that silence which secures it from public shame. Let these men derive a guilty maintenance by such foul and dishonourable means; let them rise from bankruptcy to affluence by the iniquitous contributions they forcibly levy on private families, as the purchase of domestic felicity and repose; while the former description of writers, less atrocious perhaps, but not less mischievous than the latter, having no fixed principles of civil government in their own minds, do no great violence to their feelings, or injury to their characters, by alternately appearing as the champions of liberty, or the apostles of despotism, as either may happen to accord with the interests of their respective employers.

In the history of Mr. Fox's public life, I see much to bewail, and little to admire; while the dawn and meridian of his happier rival has more to exhilarate, and less to offend, than usually falls to  
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the lot of men in high official trust. Before the country finally pronounces its irrevocable fiat on the fame of Mr. Pitt, it is incumbent on its justice to recal those periods of his administration which displayed the greatest energy, combined with the purest patriotism, and above all, of the two periods which obtained him those triumphs, which are alone worthy of a mind rich in its own resources, and conscious of its rectitude ; it is incumbent on the justice of the country to recal to its remembrance that period, when it was happily rescued from a coalition\* that dishonoured it in the first instance, and  
would

\* If I had been personally the enemy of Mr. Fox, or if I had a malice to indulge, the late contest for Westminster would have gratified me to the fullest extent.

Placed between the two candidates, he was compelled to disown both, not with the consistent dignity of manhood, but from the awkward dilemma in which he was placed by the opposite principles of his rivals ; his former habits naturally inclined him to the court candidate, but popularity, that has jilted him through life, forbid the banns, and beckoned him to Horne Tooke, who, considering him as a penitent, would have given him absolution for past offences, and received him within the pale of his religion. The Admiral, far less civil, returned his kindness with the cold and insulting offer of a negative preference, "*I will accept of you, Sir, if I cannot get a better.*"—Such was the distressing and afflicting situation of Mr. Fox on the hustings at Covent-garden : motionless, like the pendulum of a clock when the weights are down, fixed to the centre, inert and without power to move to either side, he stood, a monument of pride mortified, and ambition humbled ! The whole  
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would have enslaved it in the second ; it is incumbent on its justice to turn back to that awful, that melancholy

of this election was a whimsical exhibition of the history of past and present times ; but the circumstance in which it differs most from all other elections, and that too in their most essential part, was, that the candidate who is not returned, has the honour of the triumph. The victory, in fact, neither belongs to Sir Alan Gardner, nor to Mr. Fox—it is exclusively Mr. Tooke's. His more fortunate opponents have met with defeat, not conquest, and however much the successful candidates may exult upon the occasion, I aver that there is in the issue of this business, matter that calls most imperiously on ministers to look before them. Truths that are unpleasant, are sometimes apt to offend. I believe those that it has fallen to my lot to publish, have been altogether of that description, although my intention has been to serve, not offend ; but where the internal tranquillity of an entire nation is concerned, forms are not only impertinent, but dangerous. I aver it again, that the triumph in this election belongs exclusively to Mr. Tooke. It is a triumph of such a nature that it anticipates history, and enables Ministers to read possible events not yet arrived, in which they may be personally interested. Take the fact as it is—a private gentleman without a fortune equal to a contest, offers himself as a candidate for a seat in Parliament, in opposition to two other gentlemen who have a sufficient stock of popularity arising from their respective merits, to justify their claim to the distinction they solicit ; in addition to these strong personal recommendations to the favour of the electors, these gentlemen belong to the two great leading parties in the country, who may be said to have monopolized its administration, and are most powerfully supported by both : and what is a singular circumstance in this election, both these candidates, who are as hostile to each other as possible, feel, however, a common interest in excluding the third candidate. Sir Alan Gardner expressly said, “ I would rather



melancholy period, when with one accord it muzzled the young mastiff that would have snapped the hand that

rather have Mr. Fox than Mr. Tooke :” this last gentleman was happily relieved from the necessity of making any such declaration, and the silence of Mr. Fox upon the occasion was a measure of prudence, from the circumstance of his being compelled to keep well with the friends of the other candidates, whose *other* vote was absolutely necessary to ensure him success. The friends of Mr. Tooke would rather have Mr. Fox for his colleague, than the Admiral; the friends of the Admiral said the same of Mr. Fox; but I do not believe that the friends in general of this gentleman were so well disposed to the popular, as to the court candidate; yet after polling for a fortnight, the candidate without any of the powerful support which his rivals derived from their situation, credit, and connections—standing solely on his own pretensions, and supported by his great abilities, obnoxious to the party in power, and very far from being a favourite with the party that is out; the whole court, and the whole force of government exerted against him; all the great families, with their numerous dependants, employing all their influence to exclude him:—yet with all these great and various combinations of clashing interests, united for the moment against him as their common foe, Mr. Tooke found near three thousand people in Westminster well disposed to depute him their representative to Parliament. There is more in this event than meets the eye. If he had possessed any one of the resources of his opponents, or even if fear had not operated against him on the minds of dependent men, it is not Sir Alan Gardner, but Mr. Tooke, that would have been declared duly elected by the returning officer.

If Ministers feel that this nettle has a sting, and suffer from the smart, it is their own fault; the man whom they thought a pigmy, easily to be crushed by the giant arm of power, has

fed him ; when the manly dignified resistance of  
the Minister to a claim neither decent nor just,  
rescued

risen triumphant from the blow, and stands a colossus above them. I know very little of Mr. Tooke ; he has not seen me, by his own confession, since I was a boy, and I have never had any communication with him since that period, either directly or indirectly ; but I respect his abilities, and when well directed, they reflect equal honour on himself, his country, and the age we live in. On the subject of his guilt or innocence when arraigned at the Old Bailey, on a charge of high treason, I have nothing to say. He has been absolved by the laws of his country, and the decision will be respected by all those who have a proper respect for those laws. It was a poor and pitiful revenge, a revenge that argued equal impotency and malice, to call him an acquitted felon. It was an insult to the jury that pronounced the verdict, for it implied that they had perjured themselves. The event of this and the other prosecutions of the same kind, should teach Ministers caution, for indictments of this description of high treason, should never be preferred without strong and sufficient evidence of guilt ; for when charges of this nature are not brought home to the full conviction of those who are to decide upon them, government becomes weakened, not strengthened, and loses subjects in a much larger proportion than it would have made victims. The accused party returns to the attack with redoubled vigour, authorised in some degree by the very laws which were to have consigned him to the gibbet ; he comes back to the charge with a much greater and a far dearer interest in its issue than ever ; he comes back armed with a personal revenge for a personal injury, levelled at his character and life ; and, humanity entirely out of the question, it argues little discretion in the government that exposes itself to the consequences of such a defeat. It is one of those contests which admits of no compromise. There is no qualifying medium, no middle course or way, where the two parties can meet, explain, shake hands, and be friends ; on the

rescued it a second time from a worse than Egyptian bondage, and gave the people an additional security.

the contrary, they are bitter irreconcilable enemies for ever. The verdict of guilty or not guilty leaves nothing in view but life or death, disgrace or triumph. The man who puts an halter round the neck of another, most probably means to strangle him; and if it should appear in the event, that he had no right over his life, it will hardly be said that he has any to his gratitude or affection.

I do not know what Lord Loughborough had in view in advising those prosecutions, which turned out so beneficial to those whom they were meant to destroy, and so unfortunate for government. But the attorney general must have known that the evidence he had was not sufficient to ensure conviction, and unless conviction was brought home to the parties, Ministers should have known that the cause of government must be injured. In a word, states should never war with their own subjects, without the certainty of victory; the more prudent line would be, not to hazard a defeat, by provoking an unnecessary contest.

I have no doubt but there are many men in this country whose minds are ill disposed towards its government, it would be affectation to dissemble what cannot well be denied; if the abuses in the government justify complaint, they should be corrected, or they will become weapons of very dangerous potency in the hands of those, whose object is to *march to "Windſor, instead of halting at Hounslow."*

It is the common error of all governments, whether free or despotic, to prefer system to expediency, and to spurn good council until it is too late to profit by it. The penury of its resources is overlooked or forgotten in the rich display of present means. They forget that their strength is not their own, and that a war

security for those liberties which it is their proud boast they hold not from the bounty of the sovereign, but by right divine! Nor has Mr. Pitt been less attentive to the commerce and revenues of his country, than to its internal tranquillity and the constitutional rights of the people. He has a large and voluminous account of high and important public services to plead: his destroying the coalition; his firmness in the affair of the regency, which secured to virtue the triumph she deserved, and saved the empire; his commercial treaty; the whole of his arrangements respecting a sister kingdom; his consolidation act; his measures to restrain a clandestine traffic, that drove the fair trader from all competition, and materially injured the public revenue; together with the whole of his

with the people cuts off the resources by which that strength is fed, sustained, and vivified. I do not like to see even the appearance of ill humour between the government and the people, much less squabbles and acrimonious disputes. They should live in affectionate and confidential relation with each other, displaying the edifying, animating spectacle to surrounding nations of a mind united and indissolubly bound together for ever; agreeing ever constantly and pursuing cordially, ardently, and successfully, the same objects. Their interests are the same, and wedded to each other, their attachment should be strong, mutual, and eternal; for they have no civil law to resort to in case of disagreement; no alimony; no separation *à mensa et thoro*; but a final irrevocable ruinous divorce to one party, without the possibility of seeking happiness, consolation, or refuge in a second marriage, while full power remains to the other to chuse again, and take another venture.



vast and complicated system of finance, the great objects of which were to extinguish the national debt and to ameliorate the condition of the people by relieving them from the intolerable burthens which oppress and curb them to the earth. What account had his opponents to present, or that could possibly come in comparison with so many proud claims to national confidence and applause? None! What was the folio of his adversary? "A blank, my Lord!" a foul, dark leaf;—black beyond the complexion of Erebus!

Such were the dignified pretensions of Mr. Pitt to the confidence of his country; such the grand career in which he was proceeding with a rapidity worthy of the exalted mind of his father; worthy of the mild, beneficent, and extensive projects he had proposed, when the French revolution, in an ill-fated moment, as if devised by malice to blast his fame and curse this land, destroyed his hopes for ever! My pen falls from my hand, my faculties are suspended, and I dare not contemplate the vast ruin of his fame and fortune! for ruined they are past redemption, if he does not instantly recede: not by paltry intrigue, the weak resource of little minds, but by an entire change of system, something similar to that proposed by Mr. Fox, whose advice in what relates to continental politics, he will do well to follow. Mr. Pitt has



been the worst of prodigals, for he has allowed a legion of adventurers to trade upon a popularity all his own; he has lent them his credit, not to improve his fortunes, but to bankrupt them; not to exalt his fame, but to blast it; and will he allow those men to traffic with the poor remnant they have left him, until his name loses all currency? O God! that a man who was once so high, so deservedly high, should have fallen so low! He hangs suspended mid way down a precipice, on whose proud summit he stood erect, the arbiter of Europe and the world! He dare not contemplate the stupendous height from whence he has fallen; his senses would forsake him, and all below him is darkness, horror, and despair! A manly avowal of his errors, accompanied by a determined resolution to correct the multiplied mischiefs resulting from obstinacy, inexperience, and delusion, may yet restore to him a portion of what he has unhappily lost: he still possesses a superiority over his rival, which the situation of the country requires should be husbanded, not squandered; not that I wish them to remain in battle array, drawn out in direct hostility to each other; for this is not a moment to trifle, the destiny of the nation is in some sort in their hands: my wish is to see them united, not divided; their common safety requires it; the safety of the country depends upon it, for the  
country

country is in danger, and other means must be resorted to, if the same councils and the same measures should be persisted in. It is vigour, union, and probity among ourselves, that can alone save us ; it is time that Mr. Pitt should renounce all the disgraceful alliances he has formed with madmen and bad men. It is not to decrepid age, that would avariciously pilfer for himself or his son, the last guinea from an impoverished country, that a British Minister should look for support at any period, much less should wisdom ally itself to phrenzy, and wage war with opinions. It is time that Mr. Pitt should seek other resources than these ; it is not from the crooked underhand craft of that foul and bitter legacy bequeathed to us in an hapless moment by the late Lord Bute, our primal curse, that good counsel can ever flow ; it is not to such a man, whose very touch is poison, who has wriggled himself, God knows how, into the confidence of his sovereign ; and who, conscious of the odium attached to his name, seeks refuge in vain from public opprobrium in the alias of titles, that Mr. Pitt should resort, under our present exigencies, for succour or advice. That man might surely be content with the rich pasture and richer harvest of Lancashire, and allow us to compound with him for our safety and peace, on the terms we would willingly grant him. It is to other  
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men the Minister should resort in this awful, this eventful moment. It is to *retrenchments*, and not to *intrenchments*, that he must have recourse, to save the constitution. I speak thus harshly of individuals who have too long influenced our public councils, from the full conviction that innumerable mischiefs have resulted from that influence, and the no less strong conviction I feel that other men must be selected and other measures adopted, to extricate us from our present difficulties. My attachment to established governments is as strong as my aversion to gross and flagrant abuses is great; nor will that attachment be questioned but by those who have an interest in the preservation of those abuses, or who are servilely devoted to party, instead of the prosperity of their country. My love of order and of peace will ever incline me to give the executive authority every support in my power, and though I am very far from approving of all the measures of government, I cannot attribute the errors which threaten to render the latter part of Mr. Pitt's administration as gloomy and afflicting, as its meridian was brilliant and happy, to the motives which have been ascribed to him. It has proved a very serious calamity to the nation that its Minister has never travelled, or received, from observation and personal intercourse with foreign princes and their ministers, a knowledge of their characters and of their views.

views. His information on the subject of foreign politics must necessarily be circumscribed and compelled to receive information at *second hand*, and sometimes from the very worst kind of second hand, it ought not to surprise us, if he has been deceived, or even misled, by men who had an interest in degrading him in the public opinion to a level with themselves. If he had made the tour of Europe, or if he had only visited a few of the foreign Courts and mixing with foreigners, had adapted himself to their easy habits and manners, he would have acquired more useful knowledge in twelve months, than the correspondence of the whole corps diplomatic could furnish in as many centuries. Men must live with men to know them; not in distant form and visiting by cards, but by that social intercourse in which the offices of friendship are mutually given and received, and which inspire confidence, while they conciliate esteem. A knowledge of foreign courts acquired by such means would have been of inestimable value to the Minister and the nation, but as Mr. Pitt, unfortunately for himself and much more so for his country, has never had this advantage, it should have been his care to select those only for foreign missions, who have talents, discernment, prudence, probity, and a turn for business. Men of industry as well as of abilities, in whose truth and vigilance he could confide.—

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Such a selection would have been necessary, even if he had resided at foreign courts as many years as he has lived in the world. It is not altogether Mr. Pitt's fault if he has not always made such a selection. I firmly believe that he has been compelled in a variety of instances to cede to imperious necessity, and that parliamentary influence has frequently made him act contrary to his better judgment. This reproach does not belong exclusively to him, but to all Ministers; his predecessors have been forced to yield to this humiliating necessity; and it is an acknowledged truth, that if the present opposition were to come into office to-morrow, they would be obliged to adopt and follow the same practice, or go out of it the day after. Such is the actual degraded state of our representation; such the evident and imperious necessity for that reform, which Mr. Pitt stands pledged and bound in honor to accomplish; yet as the opposition, even by their own confession, would be under the necessity of recurring to the same means, and of conducting the public business on the same principle as the present and former administrations, what advantage would the nation derive from a change? This is a fair and honest question, arising from facts before the judgment of the world, and I propose it, not to those who expect employments at home or missions abroad; it is not to pharo men, gamblers, and adventurers

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that



that I address this question, but to the really independent gentlemen, who in Parliament or out of it, oppose from conscientious, honorable motives the measures of the minister with a view to benefit their country; of such men I ask, what good will result to the countries which they love and whose prosperity they would ensure, what œconomy there would be in a change of Ministers if the same pernicious and expensive system; if the same dishonourable parliamentary traffic must be continued in order to carry on the public business? Under circumstances so afflicting, and no less true than lamentable, what good would the people derive from a change? In what degree would their situation be meliorated, or the country benefitted when the successors of the present men in power would not dare to depart from the same corrupt manners of their predecessors? On the score of œconomy we can have nothing to hope from such a change; and as Mr. Fox would be compelled to travel in the deep and filthy rut with which the road has been torn, cut up, and spoilt by indolence and incapacity, as well as by vice and profligacy, the country can have no motive to wish a useless unprofitable exchange of mere names; but that it has an abundance of motives for wishing a change of measures, and that these motives are accompanied by a right to demand such a change, will not be contested by those who

understand the full value of our excellent constitution, and who dread its falling a sacrifice either to despotism or to anarchy !

There is not a man in the kingdom that does not feel the force of this truth. There is not a man in the kingdom that will not own such a change, can be effected by the present Minister, as well as by any other ; and if he is wise, if he has any respect for his own engagements, any regard for his own honor, he will not allow so glorious an undertaking—an undertaking that the nation expects from his virtue and his talents, to be wrested from him by others, who may be less capable, and in whom the country has certainly less confidence. Mr. Pitt cannot have forgotten his promise on the terms upon which he was admitted into office, and the fate of his rival should teach him what he may expect by a departure from his word, and a violation of the contract.

It is from the sincere and unaffected personal respect which I still have for him ; it is from the recollection of the various essential services which the country has unquestionably derived from the display of his wonderful abilities. It is that my country, to whose fortunes I am wedded, should flourish to the very end of time, that I am anxious

Mr.

Mr. Pitt should honestly and meritoriously retain the high post he occupies, and that a third epoch should be gloriously added to his administration, infinitely more brilliant than the preceding two ; a climax at once to his fame and our felicity ! It was at a very early period of his life that he came into office ; the times were turbulent, the public mind afflicted by public calamity almost to despondency, was aggravated by having its credulity imposed upon, and its confidence abused by men who had acquired it for purposes very different to that they pretended ; the tide of faction flowed strong and his great talents with all the zeal, ardour, and integrity, the happy characteristics of ingenuous youth, were instantly and unavoidably absorbed in domestic political intrigue ; that sink of public and private virtue ! Mr. Pitt found himself obliged to give into a system repugnant to his professions, I should hope to his principles, in order to retain the power he had acquired, and to manage the House of Commons, for as to the House of Lords, their province in the first instance being of less importance, and their venality neither so conspicuous nor so great, little opposition is given to those whom the representatives of the people propose. The one, however, follows the other as the hind wheel of a carriage does the fore one ; but the Commons require the incessant vigilance of a Minister to keep all those

in good humour, who, different to those who are ready to go in harness with every Minister, either with Mr. Fox or with Mr. Pitt, affect to have opinions of their own, when they only covet the places of others, and who are noisy and clamorous in proportion as the tide of opposition flows strong or weak. Thus involved in domestic cabal and entirely unacquainted with the politics of the continent, Mr. Pitt was ill qualified to cross the channel, and go in search of foreign adventurers.

It is, however, but justice to Mr. Pitt to say, that in the affair of the Russian business, the measure was wise and just, and if the nation had known its true interests, it would have supported him, but little versed in foreign politics; sensible of the advantages resulting from peace and recently rescued from a disastrous war, the prospect of hostilities spread a general alarm, and Mr. Fox taking advantage of the fears of the Minister, as well as of the ignorance of the country, excited the clamor which has ended in the total dismemberment of Poland, and the sacrifice of as many lives as would more than stock a German principality. An unsuccessful attempt was made to resist the artful interested cry that faction raised to drive the Minister from the proud eminence he held. It was not generally known to the people

ple in this country, too much occupied with domestic politics, and too much engaged in commercial enterprises, to examine what was transacted at the Court of Vienna, that it was one of the extravagant projects concerted between the late Emperor Joseph II. and the Empress of Russia to annihilate all the small states in Europe, and divide them between three or four great powers. The ambition of the one and the avarice of the other, stimulated by jealousy and envious of the prosperity of Great Britain, looked forward to the Empire of the Black Sea, and as France was to have been joined in the confederacy, to a share in the dominion of the Mediterranean; in a word, they expected to march to London by Constantinople, and ruin its trade with India by possessing themselves of Egypt; all this was fully detailed at the time,\* but unhappily without effect. The clamor proceeded, and the Minister, apprehensive that he had no alternative but to concede or resign, preferred the former. Mr. Fox took advantage of the moment to repair his ruined fortunes and recover the confidence he had lost; the history of that disgrace-

\* Vide "The expediency and justice of prescribing bounds to the Russian Empire." Printed for R. Faulder, Bond-street, 1791.



ful business cannot be forgotten or forgiven while the terrible consequences resulting from it strike most forcibly on our minds, or while our attention is directed to any part of the European Continent. I will not inquire whether the Empress of Russia preferred the bust to the proxy or the proxy to the mission, knowing the partiality of her Majesty for athletics, they might have better suited her taste ? neither will I ask whether the gentleman preferred the mission to the ring or the ring to the lady who pilfered it from him at Bruxelles ? all these are idle questions, and would only provoke laughter, but for the sad remembrance of the matter connected with them. The bust, the proxy, and the ring would deserve little notice, they would even have escaped observation, but for the great and important circumstances annexed to them. They are mere parachutes, and but for the vast balloon which in its rapid ascent into the high regions of the political atmosphere exposed them to our vision, they would never have been seen or heard of.

This balloon, as balloons are apt to do, pleased the million. They followed with loud and ruinous acclamation. An attempt was made to recall them to reason and reflection, by stating to them in detail the ambitious views of the

Court of Petersburg ; but without effect. \* It was a moment for the Minister to have displayed his firmness. He should have stood undaunted, one

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\* The political situation of Russia is very different to what it was at the commencement of this century. The old adage of *tempora mutantur* was never more applicable than it is in the present instance ; and he must indeed be a very shallow politician who does not feel that states, as well as individuals, must adapt their conduct to times and circumstances. A spirit of conquest has uniformly marked the conduct of Russia since Peter the First laid the foundation of that greatness which threatens to overwhelm us. A spirit of commercial enterprise has joined itself to that of conquest ; and nothing less than the full possession of Constantinople and the Black Sea, at least, will satisfy her inordinate ambition. In possession of the Euxine at one extremity of Europe, and of the Baltic at the other, her immense domains will encircle the fairest and best-cultivated portion of the globe. She will embrace as it were all Europe, not to caress and foster it with the tender and animating pressure of affection, but to stifle and destroy it by the savage and remorseless hug of the bear—the hug of death ! Let the partisans of Russia demonstrate that this country has nothing to apprehend from the vast acquisition of territory to which she aspires ; and then we will debate on the equity and propriety of prescribing bounds to her empire. In the language of all nations, expediency is right ; and this language will ever be held and maintained by those who have the means of enforcing it. The sole question to be considered is, how far it is consistent with the safety of the British government to permit the Russians to extinguish the Turkish empire, and establish their dominion on the Bosphorous. If it should appear, on examination, that the commerce and power of this country would be endangered by such an event, the expediency of preventing its taking place can no longer be disputed ; and that it would be attended with much

one foot in Britain, and the other in Oczakow, firm to his purpose, and prescribing bounds to the guilty ambition of Russia. Unfortunately he yielded

much mischief to our trade with India, and absolute ruin in particular to the trade we carry on with Persia by Bombay, will not be denied by those who recollect the happy position of Constantinople, and that in the hands of an enterprising people it would infallibly unite Asia to Europe. If the Russian government, in its hitherto confined situation and scanty means of extending its commerce, has invariably directed its attention to that great object, how much more expanded will its views become! how much more exalted its hopes and impatient its desires, when all Asia bursts, as it were, upon its ravished sight, and displays the riches of the eastern world! A canal of little more than a hundred miles in length will connect the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. The commerce of Asia will revert into the channels through which it passed into Europe before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and under circumstances infinitely more advantageous than ever Venice and Genoa possessed. It is not perhaps generally known, that, by means of the vast rivers which discharge themselves into the Black Sea, Russia can transport every species of merchandize by water from Cherson to Petersburg, and even into Siberia.

The Danube will enable her to furnish the more southern states; and our trade to India may be eventually destroyed. Those who suppose that the Court of Petersburg will not extend its dominions to Egypt after the Turk is driven out of Europe, or that it will not attempt a communication which may be accomplished with much less expence than some of our navigable canals in Worcestershire or Lancashire, must have been a very careless observer of what is transacted on the grand theatre of the world, and extremely inattentive to the present sovereign of Russia. If ever a commercial and enterprising nation should establish itself

yielded to the clamour; and, by yielding, he tacitly acknowledged that Mr. Fox was the better statesman, and signed his own death warrant. In this instance Mr. Fox was not the better statesman. I am even persuaded that he must have been since convinced of the expediency of the measure he opposed; yet his conduct on that occasion answered, in some degree, the purpose he seemed to have in view, and to have obtained that success, which was due only to the wiser and more correct conduct of the Minister. If it did not bring Mr. Fox into power, it brought him again into notice,

at Constantinople, it will become a Colossus of greater magnitude and of more real consequence to Europe, Asia, and Africa, than ever the famous one of brass was to Rhodes. The desponding prophecy of Lord Lansdown, \* respecting the issue of American independency to this country, will then be realised; and his Lordship may exclaim, in all the force and elegance of metaphor, that the sun of England is set for ever!

*Expediency of prescribing Bounds to the Russian Empire,*  
page 19 to 23. Printed for R. Faulder, 1791.

† Having mentioned Lord Lansdown, I avail myself of this opportunity of correcting an error into which I was imprudently led in a former publication, and as there is injustice in the error, I owe it to his Lordship and to truth, to make the only atonement in my power by publicly retracting the assertion: as I have had no intercourse with Lord Lansdown since 1795, as I have not even seen him since that period, I desired a friend of mine who lives in habits of intimacy with his Lordship to make this acknowledgment; but I am better pleased with an opportunity of making reparation as publicly as the wrong was committed.

and restored him, in some degree, to that credit which he had forfeited.

I have already observed, that eddies are always in proportion to the vigour of their currents; Mr. Fox escaped into a kind of dead water, from the stream that was hurrying him with rapidity into total oblivion; and the velocity with which subsequent events succeeded each other, converting this dead water into an eddy, brought him and his companions back to the tail of the mill, from which some of them have since had the good fortune to escape into the mill dam.

“ There is a tide in the affairs of men,

“ Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune :

“ Omitted, all the voyage of their lives

“ Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.”

The tide on which Mr. Pitt's \* fortunes were embarked flowed rapidly and triumphantly. It was, indeed, a most full and glorious sea; and if he had taken the current as it served, he would have saved his ventures; but harassed and assailed by faction at home, and little versed in foreign politics, he was compelled to follow as he was led in all matters that related to the latter, while his whole strength, vigour, and

\* Vide Appendix, No. XIV.



attention, were necessarily engaged to defend his wise and beneficent measures of domestic polity from the artful attacks of his angry and disappointed opponents. But for the fatal troubles that broke out in France, and shook the repose of nations, Mr. Pitt would have continued the idol of his country, and the admiration of the world; but his inexperience, or rather his entire ignorance of the Continent and its people, rendered it an easy matter to impose upon his understanding, and mislead his judgment. At a crisis so important he should have sought other alliances and other guides than those to which he resorted; and beholding the French Revolution, not through the miserable optics of little minded men, to whose imperfect vision all objects appear inverted, but in that enlarged point of view, as a statesman, philosopher, and legislator, in which events of such magnitude only should be considered, he might have avoided, perhaps, the fatal dilemma in which he is involved, and preserved his country, if not from war, at least from the disgrace and humiliation it has woefully received.

It was easy to foresee, that the effects of the French Revolution would speedily pass the boundaries of the French territory, and extend beyond the details of domestic government. Its operation was instantly felt in the most powerful

of the Ecclesiastical Electorates, where I happened to be at the time, and from whence I compared it, in a letter to an English Peer, \*

*“ to a violent earthquake that would extend to  
“ and shake each extremity of the globe.”*

How far my prediction in September, 1789, has been verified is within every man's knowledge. It was, indeed, impossible that a revolution in France could have had any other effect. Her locality, in the very centre of Europe, with an extent of sea coast in both oceans; her immense armies and powerful fleets; her extensive commerce, and distant possessions, which connect her, as it were, by so many different ramifications, with all the known regions of the earth; her splendour, power, and high renown; respected and often imitated by other nations; her high-finished literature; her known love of the arts, and knowledge in the sciences; and, above all, the universality in her language; all conspired to give her revolution a very extensive operation, and render it, in its consequences, far different to any former event of a similar nature. It was easy to foresee, from the wide and constant intercourse of France with other states, and the vast influence of her manners, that as soon as her revolution went

\* The Marquis of Lansdown,

to other objects than to correct abuses in the Government; that as soon as it extended itself to religion and morals, it would operate very materially on other nations, and finally produce the great changes that have happened in the minds, manners, and principles of mankind.

Such were the consequences likely to result from a revolution of such wonderful, such direful extent; but it was reserved for the guilt, madness, and obstinate folly of her neighbours, to render that revolution a curse and mischief to this country! The little foresight and firmness with respect to foreign powers, which mark almost the whole of Mr. Pitt's measures since July 1789, can only be attributed to his little experience in foreign politics, and to the still greater misfortune of his allying himself to madness instead of discretion, and listening to the sanguinary counsels of a man, whose imagination is as brilliant in conception, as his judgment is weak, and his temper irascible; whose mind, poor, pitiful, and revengeful, wants all the properties of true greatness.

Mr. Pitt must have been strangely bewildered or infatuated when he consulted Mr. Burke on a subject of such magnitude and importance. It was the Atlantic flying to a puddle as its reservoir. Danger to be subdued must be faced, not shunned.

shunned. Great events are to be met and encountered, or they will tread us down in their gigantic march. When the hapless monarch, at whose sad shrine the tear of sensibility will ever flow, was brought in disgraceful bondage to Paris from Versailles, the revolution lost its most essential and distinguishing feature in the minds of men, whose situations required that they should have had more enlarged views. They lost sight of the great objects which that revolution actually embraced, and what was still more lamentable, they do not appear to have had any clear and distinct ideas of the still greater objects to which it pointed. The thirty millions of men, who were immediately interested in that great event, and the innumerable millions, whose interests must ultimately be involved in the consequences of so great a change, seem to have been overlooked, in order to provide for the security of monarchy and of aristocracy, which were considered to be universally endangered by the confinement of the king and of the abolition of titles in France.

From this period it appears that the revolution was rather regarded as a personality than as an event on which depended the fate of Europe and the world. The fortunes of a few individuals are but small items in this large account, and must not claim precedence.

The instant that the nobility of this country made the cause of the French nobles their own, they gave the very stab to aristocracy which they wished to have prevented. This was an error; but the greater error was when the sovereigns of Europe, forgetting they were delegates, made a common cause with Louis XVI. They were not aware that such a measure, in its consequences, might give a death wound to monarchy; and that the cause of kings was no otherwise interesting or important than as it was connected with the interests of their subjects. They had no other concern with the revolution, in the first instance, than as a lesson of advice, and if they afterwards dreaded such a calamity in their own dominions, the way to prevent it was obvious; they had only to avoid those excesses, that indiscreet exercise of power, from which alone all revolutions recorded in history have resulted. If, after such an admonition, they should persevere in the same ruinous conduct, which has plunged France in blood, and beggared her princes, nobility, and clergy, \* they can only blame themselves, for the same causes will always produce the same effect. The catastrophe of the French King is indeed a terrible lesson; and I am inclined to hope, from the wisdom as well as from the spirit

\* Vide Appendix, No. X~~III~~IV



of the times, that the lesson will not be without effect. The proximity of France to this country, their known jealousy of our power and commerce, gave to her revolution a very considerable degree more of importance to us than such an event could have had, if it had happened at Vienna or Berlin; and it was the duty of Ministers to have formed a dyke in time, to keep the vast torrent within bounds. I have already observed, that states should adapt their conduct to times and circumstances. The great event that had happened in France, required a bold and decisive conduct in this country, and without shewing or even meaning any hostility, to take care, by precautionary measures, that the revolution did not operate to the injury of this country. A very favorable opportunity offered itself in the universal disaffection of the Flemings to the House of Austria. They had made offers to this country, which it would have been wisdom to have accepted. The revolt had taken place, their independence was, in fact, accomplished, and only required our sanction to consolidate it. The giving freedom to one nation could not have given umbrage to another, which was at that time in the act of giving freedom to itself, and too much engaged with its own affairs, and too weak at the moment, from its divisions, and attachment to the old system, to have given any opposition, if it had been so disposed. The  
Austrian

Austrian Netherlands, under the pretence of securing their newly-acquired liberties against the Emperor, might have re-fortified its dismantled towns, and placed garrisons in them that would have compelled France to respect the neutrality of an independent state. Luxemburgh, Namur, Mons, Tournay, Menin, Courtray, Ostend, Bruges, and Ghent, would have become formidable barriers, which must have been each of them besieged and taken, before a French army could have marched into the country.

The Flemings, attached to their religion, would have had an additional motive for defending their independence, had France been disposed to invade the republic ; and we know from experience, with what ardor men will defend a government of their choice and contrivance.

This measure might have been accomplished in February, 1790, if it had, this country, perhaps, would have escaped the fatal contest in which she is involved, and Holland have remained our friend and ally. There was sufficient time between the above period and 1793, to have rendered the Low Countries invulnerable, and if this event had taken place, the French executive council could have had no pretext for agitating the fatal question of the Scheldt, which gave a pretext to both parties for quarrelling ;

and as the Emperor would have been driven totally out of the Netherlands, and Liege rescued from the jurisdiction of its bishop and the empire, the French would have had no motive, or even colour of motive, for marching into the Netherlands. This I took the liberty to state in a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham;\* nor were the commercial advantages that would have resulted from such a measure less important, than the many political ones that must have ensued.

Under these circumstances, I do not see how it was possible for France to have warred with this country, while Holland, secured from danger by an impenetrable barrier, would have left us without any justifiable motive for plunging into hostilities.

I have proved by a letter from General de Schlieffen, that the King of Prussia was decidedly against the Low Countries returning to the court of Vienna; and as to the views of the Princess of Orange,† they ought not to have influenced the councils

\* Vide Appendix, No. XVI

† Her object was to have her son Stadtholder in Brabant and Flanders. Vandernoot and Van Eupen were her agents, and in this hope she encouraged the subjects of the Emperor in their revolt; allowed them to assemble at Breda, and was careful

councils of this country in a matter which was so closely connected with its dearest interests. This I conceive to have been the first important error committed by administration after the subversion of the old system in France, and to which the deplorable contest in which we are engaged may in a great measure be attributed. The second error was immediately after the commencement of hostilities, when government might have had the powerful aid of a very numerous party in France, at that time in credit, many of them in official situations, possessed of great influence, until, by the ferocious energy of Robespierre, they were either butchered or banished, or compelled to conceal themselves. These men, attached to the constitution of 1791, as accepted by their late king, were anxious for the establishment of a limited monarchy; they were distributed all over France, and were to be found in the convention, in the departments, and in the army.\* A declaration from the coalesced powers, that they would be satisfied with a limited monarchy, would have armed legions in favour of the fugitive princes,

ful to have them supplied with arms, ammunition, and whatever they wanted. There is a great deal of history attached to the transactions in the Low Countries, which I may perhaps hereafter detail more fully.

\* Vide Appendix, No. XVII

and Lyons, that defended itself with a ferocity worthy of the animals whose name it sounds like, would have escaped the horrible massacres that afterwards depopulated it, and all the disgraceful and deplorable circumstances attached to the evacuation of Toulon, would have been prevented. These true, these dignified, these rational friends of royalty, required neither money nor ammunition. This party, from the circumstance of their being on the spot, and in the very heart of the country, more than from their numbers, which were certainly very considerable, would have been more formidable and certainly much less expensive allies than those infatuated gentlemen, who, by being exiles, and proscribed, had difficulties to encounter before they could take post any where on the French territory, and which of course must have made the success of any enterprise extremely doubtful.

The Secretary of State for foreign affairs perfectly understands to what I allude, and subsequent events have enabled his Lordship to form a tolerable just estimate of what this country has unfortunately lost by his indiscretion.

I believe that the minister was apprised, late in January, or very early in February, 1794, of the unfortunate issue of the campaign of that year in the Low Countries. The intelligence  
came



came from a source that could not well be doubted, and I know to a certainty, that an assurance from Basle was transmitted to him in January, 1795, that “ *the Convention was ready to receive propositions for peace, provided they were compatible with the dignity, security, and interests of the French republic.*” \* Elated with the prospect of a speedy termination of the direful conflict, and all its attendant horrors, the person who received this important communication, offered to go to Basle, without any expence to government (except for the post-horses) and avail himself of the resources in his power, to learn from Paris the nature of the conditions on which France would make peace.

This person was induced to make this offer from the positive information he had, that the gentleman † who had been placed at Basle on the recommendation of the Duke of Portland, gave too easy credit to that class of Frenchmen who had an interest, or at least were anxious for the farther prosecution of the war. I have even reason to suspect that the ministry are in-

\* La Convention est prêt de recevoir des propositions “ pour la paix, pourvû qu’elles soient convenable à la dignité, à la sûreté et aux intérêts de la republique Française.”

*Extract of a letter from Basle, January 1795, a copy of which was sent to Mr. Pitt on the 23d of that month.*

† Mr. Wickham.

clined to this opinion ; at least they have had sufficient evidence of the fact to convince them. Be it as it may, the perilous state of the country requires a more than common degree of vigilance, prudence, and accuracy in those who are on mission in the very focus as it were of political intrigue and cabal.

I do not mean to throw any reflection on the gentleman on mission in Switzerland at this important crisis ; I merely state a fact, and with it a reflection, the justice and propriety of which cannot well be questioned. A friend with whom I was then in the habit of conversing, and who is in an official situation, hinted it to me merely as his private opinion, that he supposed the reason why the offer was not accepted, was the apprehension that the person meant to insinuate himself into the negotiation for peace, and as it was possible that such an idea might have obtained a currency with those whom he wished to serve, without any views of emolument to himself, he instantly disclaimed all pretensions to reward, and even the most distant intention of making whatever services he might have it in his power to render government, a foundation for any future claim ; he declared that he had no other ambition than to promote, as far as he could, at this momentous crisis, the interests of his country, in a private station, without salary or éclat.

It

It is impossible to say what reasons the minister might have had for declining to enter into a negotiation at that period ; it is a candor to which he is entitled, to suppose that he had sufficient ground for the silence he observed.\* Yet allowing him to have acted under the influence of what he thought better information, and to have judged it better for the interests of the country to continue the war, rather than to have made overtures for peace ; it is no reflection on his wisdom to observe, that subsequent events, if they have not convinced him of the delusion under which he acted, have at least changed the relative situations of the two countries, in such a manner as to preclude him from expecting in our present circumstances, as good terms as would probably have been accorded to him at the above period, when Spain and Sardinia still hung to the confederacy, and Italy now prostrate and degraded at the feet of France, gave us at least her good wishes for success.

\* It appeared, however, to have had one good effect : Mr. Pitt declared in the course of the debate on Mr. Grey's motion for peace, January 26, 1795, that "*the form of government in France should not be any objection to enter into a negotiation for peace.*" The extract had been sent to him a few days previous to the motion of Mr. Grey, and has already been cited. It came from a quarter that the minister might have respected, and that could not have written unauthorised.

In this state of affairs, deserted, plundered, and laughed at by the King of Prussia,\* forsaken by Spain and Sardinia, with the probability of losing the very feeble succour of the Emperor, humbled and incapable as he is of any effectual resistance, and, above all, with the sense of the country decidedly against the further prosecution of the war, (provided it could be concluded upon any honourable terms) it well behoves ministers to make an experiment, which, whatever may be its event, must terminate to their advantage; and by absolving them from the reproach of obstinacy, in a matter where obstinacy may be a crime, restore them to that confidence which it is sincerely my wish should ever be fully accorded to those who are entrusted with the administration of public

\* It was the impudent boast of this flagitious sovereign, in the winter of 1794, that he would have *another* subsidy from the English. Our engagements with the Emperor, to a certainty, defeated his hopes, and the Dutch, who were much pressed to take this part of the burthen off our hands, declined it, so that his Prussian Majesty has only the boast of having plundered this country, with all the infamy attached to a conduct so atrocious.

† The French, after the affair of the 10th of August, and in hostility with Austria and Prussia, had no resource but in war, and the answer that Mr. Roland gave to a friend of mine, at that time in credit and power in France, deserves notice.—“Peace is out of the question—we have 300,000 in arms—we must make them march as far as their legs will carry them, or they will return and cut our throats.”

affairs. The experiment is at least worth trying; if it should succeed, Mr. Pitt will have the glory and the consolation of concluding a contest which he could not have avoided, and his abilities are a sufficient warrant that the peace will not be a dishonour to his name or nation.

It is an injustice of the most malevolent description, to reproach Mr. Pitt with having renounced all those professions, on the faith of which he obtained the power and confidence of his country; I cannot suspect him capable of so wilful, so indecent a departure from right; of so shameful a dereliction from his former principles and professions. I am still disposed to believe him an advocate for parliamentary reform, and that, convinced of its necessity, he will, whenever the great pressure of the moment is removed, seriously give his attention to the only measure that can effectually secure the constitution from the terrible contagion of the times, a contagion which even mercury cannot reach. This measure is no less the interest, than it is the duty of the crown and of the aristocracy to accede to, and they will do well to remember, that there is prudence as well as justice in concession.

Forced as Mr. Pitt has been, by the strong current of events, from all his wise and benevolent purposes, it is unfair to reproach him with



having perfidiously abandoned, what he had promised to perform. Hurried by events, whose violence has confounded, disjointed, or defaced thrones, states, and empires; whose wild fury has changed the very nature almost of man; all but the physical position of the globe, which alone appears beyond their reach, it was not possible he could counteract or foresee the wonderful revolution that has taken place, or be prepared for the more wonderful effects that have resulted from it. Under such untoward, such extraordinary circumstances, every excuse should be made; every indulgence is due; and it ought neither to offend nor surprise us, if he has not been enabled to accomplish the vast, the intricate, not to say hazardous enterprise of parliamentary reform, for hazardous it certainly is, and must not be attempted on a sudden, but by means slow and gradual, almost to imperceptibility, or the mischiefs it is meant to prevent, will be accelerated.

This very consideration should operate most powerfully with Mr. Pitt in favour of peace, and dispose him to make the attempt; if he should happily succeed, it will enable him to resume and accomplish the various projects he has planned for the improvement of the revenue, and the redemption of the national debt; for the giving still greater vigor and extent to our wide-extended

com-

commerce; and, above all, he will be enabled to pursue, with a certainty of success, the great object he has long had at heart, and to obtain for the lower orders of society that amelioration in their condition, which, while it reflects honour on his wisdom and humanity, will not only add to the comforts of the people, but ensure the internal tranquillity of the country.

Such are the advantages; such are the honours that Mr. Pitt will infallibly derive from peace; and it well behoves him to reflect on the consequences that are likely to result from a fruitless perseverance against a nation that must become formidable the very instant she ceases to be vulnerable.

It is in vain to dissemble that this country stands on the very brink of ruin, but ministers are much nearer the edge than any one else, and will be the first hurled down the tremendous precipice. Mr. Pitt has it in his power to save himself and the empire. The minds of the people are already angered with a succession of disastrous events in a war, the conduct of which does little credit to the wisdom of those who have directed it; and it is a question that deserves the attention of the minister (for his head is at stake) how far it may be prudent to increase that anger, by an obstinate and unavailing contest, which

must heavily add to the burthens of the people, and lead eventually perhaps to insurrection.

This truth may be offensive, but as the happiness of millions is an object of far greater importance in my estimation than the pleasure or displeasure of a minister, it disdains the balance that would place them in opposite scales. Let a sincere and unaffected disposition for peace be as publicly announced as it is universally desired, and the proper means taken by a frank and unreserved communication of terms, worthy of the two nations to accept. If, after this advance on the part of Great Britain, France, intoxicated with success, should reject the proffered boon, the minister becomes justified by her guilt, and will be supported in his efforts to punish her temerity and injustice by the invincible energy of the whole country. Rapid as her tide of glory flows beyond the Alps and on the Rhine ; splendid as her victories have been on the continent, her internal situation is as deplorable as crime and folly combined can make it. The afflicting scene excites the mingled sensations of horror, pity, and disgust ; her seat of empire is a prey to contending factions, while the whole surface of her wide-extended territory resembles an agitated sea, whose tremendous waves, torn up by successive tempests from the very bottom of the ocean, rise furious and indignant as if jealous of dominion, and rolling on each

other in wild confusion, are dashed and split to atoms !

If, under such distressing circumstances ; if, amidst these complicated scenes of horror and despair, torn and distracted by civil broil, the government almost a wreck, France, blind to her interest and her duty, should prefer calamity to peace : if she should spurn the mild dictates of humanity and right, and from a madness, all her own, in the vain hope of blotting Great Britain from the nations of the earth, resolve on a war of desolation and of death, ours be the triumph and her's the curse ! she shall find that Britons elated, not depressed by the fierce conflict to which they are driven, are equal to the glorious animating contest ; a contest worthy of their valour and their virtues, and that their efforts and their heroism, proportioned to the great emergency, will rise to an altitude that shall make France tremble at her perfidy and presumption !

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## APPENDIX A.

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I HAD resided several years at Liege, and on quitting it, had preserved a constant correspondence with the venerable, faithful magistrate the burgo-master Fabry. It was in consequence of some letters from him on the retreat of the Bishop that I returned early in January, 1790. It was in the moment of its revolution ; and my opinion being asked as to the line of conduct necessary to be pursued in their present circumstances, I repeated the advice I had formerly given, and recommended an alliance with the Austrian Netherlands, and the union to be instantly followed by a declaration of independence. To those who love patch-work, and are satisfied if they can get through the great concerns of a nation from day to day, by trick and contrivance, as some men live from hand to mouth, and in whose contracted minds the ideas of magnitude and futurity never found admittance, this project may appear bold ; but a man entrusted with the in-

interests of an entire people is ill qualified to  
 conduct them, if he does not provide for cen-  
 turies to come if possible, for their preservation  
 and improvement. It is the duty of ministers,  
 and I am sure it would be wisdom in them, to  
 look constantly forward, and never backward,  
 but by way of reference to experience for good  
 counsel. This project, which I feel a satis-  
 faction in reflecting, I was the first to sug-  
 gest in that country, and which I took the  
 liberty to recommend in this, would have been  
 adopted in Brabant, if those wretched bigots,  
 Van Eupen and Vandernoot, the one a weak  
 and rancorous priest, and the other a lawyer,  
 had possessed any thing like a mind between  
 them : I feel the utmost concern that it failed ;  
 for I had objects in view far more important  
 than those which were declared, and which at the  
 time would not have been difficult to accomplish.  
 I was no stranger either to the intrigues of the  
 Prussian agents, or of Mr. Semonville, who had  
 been sent from Paris to Bruxelles to treat with  
 the chiefs of the insurgents, and this made me  
 the more anxious to have my project executed.  
 To do justice to my friend, no efforts on his  
 part would have been wanting ; and if Bra-  
 bant had been less blinded by superstition, it  
 would have succeeded. If it had happily  
 succeeded, a strong and impenetrable bar-  
 rier, extending one hundred and fifty English  
 miles,

miles, in a direct line from Ostend to Aix-la-Chapelle, and, in some places, as many in breadth, would have been given to the Dutch on the side of France, while Cleves would have secured them from insult on that of the Empire. It would also have prevented, by inoculation as it were, five millions of people from receiving the contagion of their powerful neighbours, in the very worst stage of their disease, or from throwing themselves in despair into the arms of France, as the only refuge from Austrian despotism; and, finally, it would have produced very considerable commercial advantages to this country, well worthy of the attention of Ministers. I had long been apprehensive that the Austrian Netherlands would ultimately fall under the dominion of France, either by conquest, exchange, or the disaffection of the people to the Emperor; and as such an event would be of serious consequence to the maritime power of Great Britain, by giving to her natural enemies and rivals the command of both ends of the Channel, I was rejoiced at an opportunity of preventing a calamity of such political extent. What I dreaded in 1785, and predicted in 1787, actually happened in 1792; the French had rendered themselves masters of the Low Countries, and even of Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle; and if they had been less intoxicated with their victories, and more attentive to the obligations

of morality, or even to the suggestions of policy, in her first invasion, they would have preserved their conquests against all the force of Europe, and the inhabitants of the Low Countries would have escaped the horrors of the two campaigns that have again deluged them in blood, and again wrested them from the House of Austria.

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## APPENDIX B.

IT was one part of the mission of the Chevalier Donceel from Liege to Brabant, who was also employed as a secret agent by the Court of Berlin, to propose the alliance I suggested, and to engage the Austrian Netherlands to follow the more wise and prudent councils of Monsieur Vonck, in preference to those of Vandernoot, who was merely an instrument in the hands of an intriguing woman, allied to a sovereign who has successively, and, what is still more to be lamented, successfully betrayed all parties and all nations whom he pretended to serve, and engaged to support. If I forbear to say more upon this subject, it is out of compassion to a female in adversity, though her adversity has been occasioned by her passion for political intrigue and the sottish imbecility of her

her husband. The object of this note is merely to prove, that the Court of Berlin was decidedly of opinion in 1790, that the Low Countries should be wrested from the Emperor. What the opinions of the King of Prussia have been since that period, we all know from wretched experience, but what they may hereafter be, Omniscience alone can foretel.

“ Il ne fut jamais question de faire entrer les troupes étrangères dans le Pays Bas ; vous pouvez dire hardiment que ni Prussiens, ni Hessois, ni les troupes de Brunswic n’y entre-  
ront ;—il nous suffit, mon cher Chevalier, que les Pays Bas, ne retombe pas entre les mains de l’Empereur.

Etait signé,

Le General de SCHLIEFFEN.”

*A Liege,  
Fevrier, 1790.*

*Au Chevalier Donceel à Bruxelles.*

#### TRANSLATION.

“ It was never meant to march any foreign troops into the Low Countries ; you may, therefore, boldly contradict such a report, and as boldly assert, that neither the troops of  
Prussia,



Prussia, Hesse, nor Brunswick, will enter the Austrian Netherlands—all that we require is that they do not return again to the house of Austria.

Signed,

Le General SCHLIEFFEN."

Liege, Feb. 1790.

*To the Chevalier Donceel à Bruxelles.*

It is necessary to observe that this is an answer to a letter from M. Donceel, stating the general apprehension at Bruxelles of an intention of the King of Prussia to march his troops into the Low Countries, in order to force the people to receive a Stadtholder, which the Princes of Orange had proposed, and to which they were as averse as to a governor and minister from Vienna. M. Vandernoot was the instrument who undertook to prepare men's minds for this substitute for the Archduchess;\* but the good sense of the country would alone have sufficed to defeat the success of any such project, even if they had not been stimulated by the cabals of the French to reject it. France was no less alarmed than the Flemings at the idea of a foreign army marching into the Low Coun-

\* " Nous n'avons pas besoin des marionnettes"—*We do not want puppets*—was the observation made to me, at that time, by one of the ablest men in Brabant.

tries. The neighbourhood was too near her frontiers, and the invasion might have other objects besides the guarantee of the transfer of a nation from one despot to another. The French are as vigilant as they are intelligent, and those in this country, who imagine that the proportion of intellect in France bears no proportion to that in England, deceive themselves very much, and are either ignorant or illiberal in the degree that they entertain, and propagaate an opinion so distant from truth, and that reflects such little credit on their justice or their understanding.

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## APPENDIX C.

“ THE miserable peasant, destitute of every resource but industry to support his wretched offspring, and even that resource, (poor and scanty as it is) a contingency on his health and capacity for labour, must toil hard for the solitary shilling with which he daily feeds and clothes his helpless family. It has repeatedly fallen within my observation since the commencement of this letter, to behold, in a variety of instances, this extreme distress aggravated by the illness and infirmity of the children, to whom, as well as to their hapless parents, existence appears to be every thing but a blessing. Contrast their  
deplorable

deplorable condition with your own exalted state ! Recollect how much you are indebted to *chance* for the superiority of your fortune, and remembering that these men are your fellow creatures ; possessing in common with yourself, a right to the common necessaries and enjoyments of life, let me ask you, Sir, if you can without blushing demand, exclusive of the very ample income allowed you by the nation, a sum that would comfortably maintain in perpetuity, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED of these very people, whose afflictions you would increase, and whose morsel of bread you would embitter and render more difficult to obtain, in order to defray your extravagance ? Sir, it is against reason, it is against justice, humanity, and right ; it is against your personal interest and security, that a disproportion so scandalous should exist between man and man ! God never designed it, and the government that authorises or connives at the abuse, hazards its tranquillity or existence.

“ It is no abatement of the sufferings and agonizing sorrows of the famished cottager, that the portion of happiness is not more diffused among the higher, than it is among the lower orders of society. It is no alleviation of his distress, that while he is perishing of hunger, your Royal Highness is exposed to numberless vexations and disappointments. The chagrin and  
 1 anger

anger provoked by pride deservedly mortified, or your ill health arising from intemperance, afford him no consolation in the hour of calamity; they administer no comfort to his mind, and afford no drawback to his grief or misfortunes. They furnish neither food nor raiment to his starving, ragged offspring, nor shield his ill-thatched hovel from the rude blasts of winter. It is sophistry to say, that the magnificence in which you live is but splendid misery, which amply revenges him for the difference of his fortune; nor is it argument to say, that because you are wretched, he ought to be happy, for it is only a base and vindictive mind that can derive consolation or joy from the miseries of another."

*Extract of a Letter addressed to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, May 1796. Page 13.—*  
*11th Edition.*

## APPENDIX D.

IT is unimportant to state the causes of my disagreement with the Minister. Whatever my opinion on any of the great questions that agitate men's minds at this awful crisis, may be, it is of too little moment to justify its publication to the world. I cannot, however, but regret that he should have given force and activity to a mind as malignant and vindictive in its very nature, as it is splendid in its endowments; I did not feel myself pledged, either by my confidence in the Minister, or my personal regard for him, to respect every man whom the circumstances of the moment might force him to receive to his bosom. If Mr. Pitt, for great political purposes, was compelled to go into bad company, he must take the consequences; I felt no such necessity, and was not obliged to follow him.

I never ventured to give an opinion on the services for which Mr. Burke was employed, and for which he has been so profusely paid.—It is, I think, very evident, that if he had continued to act with his old friends until he retired from Parliament, that he would not have had his retreat enlivened by a crowd of pensions which stood so  
much



much in each other's way, that he was under the necessity of parting with some of them at auction to the highest bidder.—This being the case, every man is qualified to judge of his *quantum meruit*, and may “*sit on the inquest.*” But when Mr. Burke, with a malevolence all his own, at least I hope so, and which was as unprovoked as it was unquestionably inhuman, attacked an unfortunate man, confined many fathoms below the surface of the earth, in a damp and dreary dungeon, whom I had known in better times, and whose public virtue is as transcendent as his fate is deplorable, I felt it a duty that I owed to the sacred call of private friendship and affection, as well as to the glorious and animating cause of liberty, to vindicate him from his merciless and cowardly assassin.

If any thing could aggravate the charge, most impudently false, that Mr. Burke had the unfeeling atrocity to advance against M. de la Fayette, it is the circumstance of the impossibility of this victim to the double infamy of tyranny and slander, refuting the calumnies of his protected libeller. It was not M. de la Fayette only that I defended, but the cause of freedom and humanity over the wide extended surface of the earth. It was the cause of every man, except the wretched being in whom it originated; and can this man ever expect either refuge or comfort? O, no!

Beaconsfield can afford him no asylum, nor the proud Exchequer of Britain administer to him either ease or consolation; with all its enormous mint of money he would be poor, and his existence (embittered by the reflection of having swelled and aggravated the calamities of war) rendered wretched even in Paradise.

That Mr. Burke should have gone charged with uncommon wrath to Mr. Pitt, and in the lust and delirium of his rage, have called for vengeance on my devoted head, I can well conceive, and even pardon, but I cannot so readily account for, or excuse the unkindness and indiscretion of the Minister for interfering in a matter in which I was at perfect liberty to judge for myself, and above all, as it is not in this country, thank God, that malice or despotism can select victims at discretion, I could have wished that the Minister had not expressed any dissatisfaction at the part I took; but if his conduct in that instance was ill-advised, it was altogether as manly in the silence he has since observed, and in his resisting the malevolence that would have beggared me and an only child, dear to me in every respect, by withdrawing from me, if it could, what I have dearly and honourably earned.

The following letter will explain this, and as this is the conclusion of my labour in the political vineyard, I feel no difficulty in publishing it.

*Mr.*

*Mr. MILES to Mr. ROSE.*

“ SIR,

*London, March 6, 1796.*

“ MY letter to Mr. Duncombe is not a departure from the intention I had formed of not writing any more, unless the occasion should be urgent ; I say this, lest you should suppose that I am fickle. In March 1794, I pledged myself to meet Mr. Burke if he ever came forward again.—He has come forward, and I have kept my word.—If he was the person to whom you alluded as having advised Mr. Pitt to violate his engagements to me, he will be more active than ever in his efforts to seduce the man, whom I still respect and wish to serve, into an act of injustice. Mr. Burke knows nothing of my *quantum meruit*, and cannot, must not, be upon the *inquest*. The moderate income that I receive under the sign manual, and from the treasury, is the reward of many years creditable, faithful, and acknowledged services, in which my private fortune was impaired to a greater amount than my pension would sell for at Garraway’s.

“ Feeling my right to the one and to the other to be indubitable, the former cannot be withdrawn

drawn during my life, nor the other withheld during the continuance of Mr. Pitt in office, but by an iniquitous perversion of power, against which I feel the most perfect security in the justice of the Minister. The man, therefore, that you say counselled Mr. Pitt to such a measure, wanted integrity, if he knew the conditions of the bond, and if he did not, he was impertinent.

“ Allow me to repeat the assurances of esteem with which I am,

“ Sir, &c.”

## APPENDIX E.

“ **A**LTHOUGH it was the policy of the Court of Versailles to have the foreign journals at her disposition, and to have as many of them as possible conducted by French editors ; France was not the only power that watched with painful vigilance and suspicion, every paragraph or essay that had the most distant relation to her government, administration, or affairs ; it was in conformity with this principle, so rigidly adhered to, that Monsieur Sabatier, the Envoy from his most Christian Majesty to the Prince Bishop of Liege, received a severe reprimand from his Court, for not having insisted on the Liege Gazette being taken from the printer, and the editor dismissed, for having presumed to retort in June, 1782, a bravado of the marine minister in France, who, on taking leave of M. de Grasse, whom he had accompanied to Brest, recommended in a very audible manner the British Admiral, Sir George Rodney, to his particular care. The Empress of Russia, animated by the same spirit, sent instructions to her Consul, Mr. Fabius, at Bruxelles, to make a formal complaint to the same Prince Bishop, against a journal recently established in the city of Liege,

I

by



by a native of France, who had sought refuge in that principality from his own country, and as a resource had set up a newspaper. The Bishop, in compliance with the wishes of the Court of Petersburg, insisted upon the "*Journal Politique et General de l'Europe*," submitting to have an imprimatur, or to quit the Liege territory; he chose the latter, and retired to a town twelve miles off, in the duchy of Limburg, on the road to Aix-la-Chapelle, called Herve, and his paper from thence was afterwards distinguished by the name of "*La Feuille de Herve*."

As the editor of this journal has made a very conspicuous figure on the great and astonishing scene yet before us, and as by the extraordinary occurrences of the times, it has fallen to my lot to have corresponded with him at the two epochs in which his fortunes, no less whimsical than malicious, were in the greatest extremes, it will be permitted me, I hope, to say something of a man who, for one short moment of his life, appears as if he held the destiny of Europe in his hands, and whose extravagant ambition, combined with ignorance, and, perhaps, with some degree of personal resentment against the minister, for not having accorded him in 1788, an allowance of fifty pounds a year, accelerated the fatal declaration that involved France and England in their present dreadful conflict. This  
man

man had received a regular education, but wild and dissipated, after having been a student, soldier, and vagabond in succession, was finally proscribed his native country by order of Monsieur de Vergennes. In his talents he found a resource which atoned for the poverty of his fortunes, and would have repaired the injuries produced by misconduct, if he had possessed at any one period of his life, either prudence or rectitude. His first endeavour, on setting up this journal, towards the close of the American war, was to ingratiate himself with the government that had spurned him, by contrasting the grandeur and prosperity of France with the penury and degraded state of Great Britain, humbled, as he said, to be a nation only of the third rank in the scale of Europe. It was the constant burthen of his song, that this country was on the eve of bankruptcy, that no exertion of wisdom or œconomy could restore her shattered credit, and that France alone was the only power in whom foreign states could with safety confide their property. The magnanimity and discretion of the French minister, with the fallen and impoverished condition of England, torn and divided by cabals of contending factions, were the themes that constantly occupied several pages of *La Feuille de Herve*, and as the conclusions drawn from these exaggerated misrepresentations were alone attended to, the falsehood, absurdity,

turdity, and impudence of the premises were thrown altogether out of the account. Indeed it was hardly possible for an Englishman to mix in society at that period without hearing some unpleasant animadversions on his country and its government.

It is an argument with foreigners who never travel, that a man can have no very great love for his country who quits it, and from thence they conclude that every Englishman on the continent is happier abroad than at home. It is under this impression that the question, *What makes you so fond of travelling?* is so often proposed, particularly when an Englishman among foreigners has the indiscretion publicly to extol his own nation as superior to all others. This subject was occasionally handled with an happy and mischievous effect, by way of a pleasant relief to the dry details of political œconomy, in which it was proved to the entire conviction of all those who know nothing of the matter, that the British funds, could not possibly hold their ground, and that England, ruined and undone, would speedily become a bankrupt. The generality of foreigners, excepting the French, know little more of other nations than what they read in the public prints, and it is in the public prints that they place the greatest confidence; if the truth is contested, the only answer

swer they gave is, *il faut que cela soit vrai, car il est imprimé.* A person in high rank and in high official situation, on being told that almost every house in London had a lamp at its door, expressed his astonishment, and could scarce believe it possible ; addressing himself to me, he demanded, *est il vrai, Monsieur, que les rues de Londres sont si bien éclairées ?* *Oui, Monsieur,* (I answered) *les rues et les HOMMES y sont très éclairés.* The same person could not easily believe that Mr. Pitt was not a Lord. I have merely mentioned these trifling circumstances, and this extreme ignorance of foreigners, to account for the extreme credit given to all that is asserted in the public prints.

I had observed with much impatience the incessant misrepresentations of *The Journal General et Politique de l'Europe*, respecting the public credit of this country, and this impatience was rather increased than diminished by the frequent appeals that were made to me with an air of malignant triumph for a confirmation of the fact, and especially by those whom I knew to be pensioners of the Court of Versailles. As I frequently met the French minister at dinner and at parties, I took occasion to mention, in the course of familiar chit-chat, the illiberality of his countryman, and to wish that he would confine himself to facts, for that a great nation, like

France, did not require to be propped by falsehood and scurrilities. M. St. Croix, reprobating the man, his paper, and his conduct, declared he was so worthless, he had nothing to say to him. Vexed at these daily libels, I conceived the project of writing a private letter to M. Le Brun, in which I lamented that a journal so universally and so deservedly read, should have fallen into the grossest errors, and that anxious for the credit of his paper, I had taken the liberty to send him an hasty sketch of our public debt, taxes, and resources, on the fidelity of which he might venture to rely, and that I trusted to his love of truth to give it the reception it deserved.

In the course of a week I received a very flattering acknowledgment of its having been received, and that every attention should be paid to my information that I could wish. It did not occur to me at the time that this officiousness might expose me to the suspicion of being in secret correspondence with the English minister, and if that had really been the fact, it is most probable that I should not have written, lest such a suspicion should have exposed me to danger. The truth is, that not having such a correspondence, I thought only of rendering a service to my country by correcting mis-statements that I perceived impressed foreigners with a very unfavourable opinion of British security, and  
British



British faith. I had no other motive, I had not even communed with a single creature on the subject, and was far from being equal to the task of explaining myself as fully as I wished to do in either the French or English language. The reception however, that my communication met with, gave me a very high idea of M. Le Brun's candor, and I was still more charmed with his conduct when I found that his abuse was converted into panegyric, and that the finances and resources of England were the constant themes of his admiration. Little read in human nature, and allowing truth to possess a much larger empire over the minds of men than she is ever likely to obtain, I attributed, without hesitation, the change that had taken place entirely to a love of justice in the editor. It was under this conviction, that, several months afterwards, I wrote him the following letter, in consequence of his having been compelled to fly, at only half an hour's notice, from his wife and children, dependent on his industry for support, to claim the protection of the Emperor against an unjustifiable exertion of power in the States of Brabant, lately revolted from the jurisdiction of their sovereign. I was at this time an entire stranger to the person of M. Le Brun."

“ *Liege, le 30 Juin, 1787.*

“ MONSIEUR,

“ JE viens d'apprendre par M. Fabry l'événement fâcheux qui vous est arrivé, et qui vous a forcé de vous soustraire sur le champ à un pouvoir nouvellement acquis, et très indécement exercé à votre égard.

“ Il m'a dit que vous étiez parti pour réclamer la protection de l'Empereur contre l'injustice des états du Brabant. Votre départ précipité ne vous a pas sans doute permis de vous pourvoir de l'argent nécessaire pour les frais d'un voyage pénible et dispendieux. Choqué de cette conduite de la part des Etats, que la liberté naissante auroit dû rendre plus conforme aux principes de la justice, et sentant combien une démarche si peu mesurée, pour ne pas dire si tyrannique, a dû vous occasionner d'embarras, je me flatte que vous ne trouverez pas mauvais qu'un Anglais, animé par l'amour de la liberté, qu'il ne perdre qu'avec la vie, ait jointe ici une traite de vingt Louis de Messrs. Naglemackers sur leur correspondents à Ratisbonne. J'espère que cette petite somme vous arrivera à tems pour

vous être utile, et surtout que vous obtiendrez  
de votre souverain la justice qu'il vous doit.

“ Je suis, MONSIEUR,

“ Avec considération, &c.

“ W. MILES.”

*A Monsieur,  
Monsieur le Brun,  
Post restante à Ratisbonne.*

TRANSLATION.

“ Liege, June 30, 1787.

“ SIR,

“ I AM this instant informed by Mr. Fabry of the unpleasant event which has happened, and which has forced you to fly from a power lately acquired, and very indecently exercised towards your person.

“ I am told you are gone to Vienna to claim the protection of the Emperor against the injustice of the states of Brabant. I am afraid, Sir, that your precipitate departure did not allow you sufficient time to provide yourself with money for a long and expensive journey. Incensed at the conduct of the states of Brabant, to whom the rising spirit of liberty should have dictated principles more conformable to justice, and feeling how very much this measure of their's, so  
imprudent,

imprudent, not to say tyrannical, must have embarrassed you, I hope you will not be offended at an Englishman, animated by that love of liberty which he will relinquish only with his existence, intreating your acceptance of a draught for 20*l.* on a banker at Ratisbon. I hope this trifle will reach you in time to be of use to you, and that you will obtain that justice from your sovereign to which you are entitled.

“ I am,

“ SIR, &c.

“ W. MILES.”

*To Mr. le Brun,*

*To be left at the Post Office, Ratisbon.*

To this letter I received the following answer.

“ MONSIEUR,

“ AH ! sans doute vous êtes Anglais, et vous méritez de l'être—ce trait et généreux, et la noblesse dont vous l'accompagnerez, annonce une ame toute brulante de l'amour de la verité, et de sensibilité pour les infortunés, et vous craignez encore homme incomparable, et vous avez la delicateffe de craindre, que je ne prenne en mauvaise part le bienfait que vous m'offrez. Non, Monsieur, j'en suis au contraire tout pénétré de reconnaissance, et j'accepte votre don avec plaisir. Quand ce ne seroit que pour ne  
pas

pas priver votre ame de la seule recompence digne d'elle ; nous comptons être à Vienne sur la fin de la semaine, et je ne doute pas que nous ne trouvions toute la satisfaction qui nous est due auprès du souverain. J'aurai joie et je m'en ferai un devoir de vous informer des progrès des nos sollicitations, ne desirant rien tant, que de pouvoir reprendre aux plutôt nos travaux, et vous prouver d'une maniere plus eclatante, les sentimens d'estime, d'admiration, et de reconnoissance, que vous m'avez inspirés, et avec lesquels, j'ai l'honneur d'être, MONSIEUR, votre très humble, très obeissant serviteur,

“ LE BRUN.”

“ *Ratisbonne, le 7 Juillet, 1787.*”

*A Monsieur,*

*Monsieur Miles,*

*Gentilhomme Anglais à Liege.*

#### TRANSLATION.

“ SIR,

“ AH ! most certainly you are an Englishman, and well you deserve the name of one. This noble and generous action announces a soul fired by the love of truth, and compassion for the unfortunate, and you are afraid of offending me by your generosity ! No, Sir ; on the contrary, I am penetrated by your kindness,

D

and



and accept your offer with gratitude. We expect to be at Vienna towards the end of the week, and I do not doubt but we shall find every satisfaction that is due to us from the sovereign. I shall feel it my duty to inform you of the result of our solicitations, desiring nothing more than to be enabled to resume our labours as soon as possible, and to prove to you in the strongest manner the sentiments of esteem, admiration, and gratitude, with which you have inspired us, and with which we have the honour to be,

“ Your most obedient humble servants,

[ ]

“ LE BRUN.”

“ *Ratisbon, July 7, 1787.*”

*To Mr. Miles, Liege.*

In the month of October or November following, Le Brun resumed his journal, and recommended his labours by accusing the English Cabinet of having excited the Turk to declare war against the Muscovite, and his animadversions on that supposed fact were well calculated, as they were meant to do, to impress the world with that opinion. I wrote to M. Le Brun that I was sorry he had so suddenly changed his opinion of Mr. Pitt; and was sorry to see him so positive in a charge which I had every reason to believe was ill-founded. Upon the receipt of my letter, every thing

thing that had been asserted was instantly retracted, and the next number vindicated the British Cabinet from what I thought a calumny. It gave me great pleasure to find afterwards, that Sir R. M. Keith, the King's Minister at Vienna, had formally contradicted the charge, by order of his own Court. This was, in some sort, a confirmation of what I had done, and would, as I thought, give me credit for veracity. My triumph, however, was of short duration, the Emperor Joseph, who was at once vehement and implacable in his resentment, sent orders to the government at Bruxelles to reprimand the Journal Politique, and to insist upon its renewing the charges, and throwing the whole odium of the war upon the English Cabinet, or on the English Minister at Constantinople; in obedience to this command, the attack was resumed, and in consequence of its being resumed, I wrote the following letter to Le Brun :\*

*A Monsieur Le Brun.*

*“ Bruxelles, March 12, 1788.*

“ MONSIEUR,

“ APRES vous avoir assuré que la guerre qui s'est malheureusement déclarée entre la Porte et la Russie, n'étoit pas l'ouvrage de l'Angleterre ;

*D 2* je

\* In looking over my correspondence, I met with several of M. Le Brun's letters. The following extract from one of them is in answer to a request I made him to be impartial in his account

je me suis flatté que vous m'aurez cru, et surtout puisque vous eûtes la complaisance de retracter d'abord ce que vous veniez d'avancer dans ce moment là, dans votre discours preliminaire.

“ Je ne puis que sentir beaucoup de chagrin, en vous voyant donner plus de crédit à une lettre

account of the politics of the different courts. In a conversation with him on the subject of the following passage, he explained *il me sera difficile d'applaudir*, by desiring me to read it as he meant, but did not dare to write it—*il m'a été DEFENDU d'applaudir*, adding *C'est la catin du nord qui s'en mêle aussi*, and exclaiming, “ *Ab! Monsieur, c'est dans votre Isle seule, qu'on peut heurter du front le despotisme.*”

*Extract of a Letter from M. LE BRUN to Mr. MILES, dated*  
*Herve, Janvier le 6, 1788.*

“ *Je commencerai cette semaine, Monsieur, l'article de la Grande Bretagne, ou je chercherai l'occasion de rendre au premier Ministre, le tribut d'éloge et d'estime que je crois qu'il merite, par ses qualités personnelles et parlementaires; mais il me sera toujours difficile d'applaudir au système politique du cabinet de St. James.*”

#### TRANSLATION.

*Extract of a Letter from M. LE BRUN to Mr. MILES, dated*  
*Herve, Jan. 6, 1788.*

“ I shall begin this week, Sir, the articles respecting Great Britain, and I will take an opportunity to render that tribute of justice which is due to the great parliamentary abilities of the First Lord of the Treasury; but it will be extremely difficult for me to approve of the politics of the British Cabinet.”

particuliere

particuliere de Paris, qu'aux déclarations formelles de la Cour de Londres, je ne m'arretterai pas sur l'indécence de donner un démenti si fort, à une autorité aussi respectable, et certainement plus digne de foi que votre correspondant ne peut l'être. Mais j'en appelle à votre humanité, S'il est juste d'exposer non seulement la vie d'un homme innocent, mais même sa réputation ; car si votre journal par hazard pénétrait jusqu'à Constantinople, le Chevalier Ainslie est infalliblement perdu. Ce que vous venez de lui attribuer lui couteroit la vie, et il faut avouer qu'on ne devoit pas se permettre des accusations serieuses, sans être bien assuré de leur verité. Le Chevalier Ainslie\* jusqu'à présent ne s'est pas permis de passer les bornes de son devoir.

“ S'il avoit, comme vous le dites, excité la guerre entre les Turcs et la Russie, sans la participation de sa Cour, il seroit rappelé, et une pareille démarche l'auroit exposé à être massacré à Constantinople. D'ailleurs, Monsieur, vous oubliez la maxime qui sert d'épigraphe à numero 30 de votre journal.

\* I have not the honour of knowing Sir Robert Ainslie, or of being known to him, but finding him the object of very serious charges by the Court of Vienna, through the ministry of the Journal Politique, and apprehensive it might expose his person to danger, I took upon me to contradict the calumny, from a love of that justice which is due to all, and should be assured to all.

“ Sans aucune preuve quelconque vous prononcez hardiment contre un homme revêtu d'un caractère public, et dans un affaire où il y va de sa vie, et de sa réputation.

“ J'espère qu'après cette rémonstrance amicale (écrit par un homme, qui vous a déjà donné des preuves de son amitié, et qui sera heureux de vous être utile) vous serez plus circonspect à l'avenir, et que vous rendrez justice au Chevalier Ainslie, dans votre prochain numero.

“ Je suis, &c.

“ W. MILES.”

TRANSLATION.

*To Monsieur Le Brun.*

“ *Bruxelles, March 12, 1788.*

“ SIR,

“ AFTER having assured you the war, which has unfortunately been declared between the Porte and Russia, was not the work of Great Britain, I flattered myself that you would believe me, particularly after you had had the complaisance to retract immediately what you had just before advanced in your preliminary discourse.

“ I cannot but feel great concern in seeing you give more credit to a private letter from Paris than to the formal declaration of the Court  
of



of London. I will not dwell on the impropriety of giving so flatly the lye to so respectable an authority, who certainly is more worthy of credit than your correspondent can be.—But I appeal to your humanity. Is it just to expose not only the life of an innocent man, but even his character? For if your journal should by chance find its way to Constantinople, Sir Robert Ainslie would be undone. What you impute to him would cost him his life, and you must own that such serious accusations should not be brought against him, unless the truth of them were known with certainty. Hitherto Sir Robert Ainslie has not attempted to go beyond the limits of his duty.

“ If he had, as you have said, excited a war between Russia and the Turks, without the participation of his Court, he would be recalled, and such a measure would expose him to be massacred at Constantinople. Besides, Sir, you forget the motto you have taken for Number 30 of your journal.

“ Without any sort of proof you boldly condemn a man vested with a public character and in circumstances where his life and reputation are at stake.

“ I hope,

" I hope, Sir, that after this friendly remonstrance, transmitted to you by a man who has already proved his good wishes to serve you, you will be more cautious in future, and do justice to Sir R. Ainslie in your next number.

I am, &c.

" WILLIAM MILES."

But instead of retracting, as he had done before, he intimated to me that his authority was unquestionable, and he must respect it. At an interview with him afterwards in my way to Aix-la-Chapelle, he revealed the whole history of this intrigue, and shewed me some curious correspondence, which proved how very apt governments are to be indiscreet, when they believe themselves to be omnipotent. The Journal Politique, constrained to write in the sense that was dictated to him by the council at Bruxelles, and vexed, at the same time, that some efforts to obtain him an annual allowance from England, were not successful, he no longer kept any measure with the English government, and this country became the object of malevolent animadversion, until the expulsion of the Imperial troops from Bruxelles, when the Emperor not only lost Brabant, but M. Le Brun : it was then that the character of this man became developed ; it was then that I discovered that his ready attention to my first communication in 1785

was

was in consequence of a peremptory refusal from M. de Vergennes to allow either him or his journals to traverse France.

The accident that made my letter travel in company with this prohibition to Herve,\* ensured to the former the reception I wished. The Emperor, twice expelled the Low Countries, and twice suffered to return to it, obliged M. Le Brun to evacuate the Low Countries, and take shelter in Paris, which became at that epoch the resort more than ever of innumerable swarms of adventurers. It was in the winter, 1790, that he arrived, and being informed that I was in town, he desired permission to wait on me; apprised of his character, I declined the interview. His project was to add another journal to the million that the press incessantly brought out at all hours of the day and night, for the horrid purpose of inflaming and misleading the million into the commission of all kinds of crimes and excesses. He sent me the prospectus, by one of the deputies from the principality of Liege, Monsieur Regnier, who solicited permission to set me down as a subscriber, to which I consented; but he was, as it were, insulated and alone, a stranger even in his native country, without friends to patronise, or money to support him. The journal advanced no farther than the prospectus, and as a dernier resource, he made an offer of his services to the go-

E plicity,

\* The residence of M. Le Brun.

vernment of Bruxelles. Leopold had all the duplicity, and some of the avarice of his deceased brother, without his turbulence or impatience : aware of the influence of a popular writer, with men whose minds were yet in a ferment, he offered to give Le Brun a hundred pistoles a year, and allow him to return and set up a journal, if he would support the house of Austria ; but it was required that these pistoles should be made louis-d'ors, the demand was refused, and the treaty dissolved for ever. The Emperor, from a miserable œconomy, in order to save about twelve guineas a year, spurned the man who afterwards became, in some degree, the arbiter of his fate ! It was at this period, in the spring of the year 1791, that as another last resource, M. Le Brun obtained admission into the Jacobin club, I was present at the time, and heard it remarked, that at no period so many members had been elected, and so many candidates refused. The intrigues, bustle, and convulsions of those times, whose storms, great as they were, were but precursors to still greater tempests, raised him nearer the surface, and Dumourier finding him useful, intelligent, and indefatigable, employed him in the department for foreign affairs. After the transactions of the 10th of August, 1792, he became secretary of state ; in January following, he signed the death-warrant for the execution of his sovereign, and soon afterwards proposed that war should be declared against Great Britain and Holland,

which he had long aimed at, and for which he was afterwards denounced. In May or June, 1793, he was discovered concealed in the Fauxbourg St. Marceau : having been previously declared an outlaw, nothing more was required than to identify his person, and being conducted from the cavern to which he had fled for security, to the fate which his crimes had long deserved, he perished on the scaffold where his King had recently been murdered !

Their direful fate a moral lesson brings,  
 To upstart greatness, and to thoughtless Kings;  
 Their direful fate to full-blown pride makes known,  
 How very little man can call his own.  
 Vain all the bustle of this fleeting life,  
 Vain all our pleasing hopes and anxious strife,  
 Vain all our joys ! since to one common end,  
 Hope, strife, and joy in wond'rous haste descend !

I do not know that I reason better in verse than in prose ; but such are the train of reflections which the extraordinary events in the French revolution, never fail to excite in my afflicted mind, whenever the painful subject occurs ; and such the brief history of a man whom the turbulence of the times had lifted from the lowest almost of all possible situations, to the highest. The sudden rise and rapid fall of this man furnish a world of matter for very serious reflection, and if the sad destiny of Louis the XVIth proves the instability of human grandeur



deur, I am sure the chequer'd history of this man abundantly shews how very much we are the sport and ridicule of fortune ! It may not be improper to observe again, before I terminate this long note, that one of the charges which brought Mons. Le Brun to the block, was his having provoked the war with England. The condemnation of the French minister on this occasion, by his own countrymen, is (as I have already said) a virtual acquittal of the English one, and will, I hope, rescue him in future from this calumny, and its intended effects. The letter subjoined was addressed by M. Le Brun in 1789, to the Comte de Trauttmansdorff, the Imperial minister at Bruxelles.

It will shew the profound dissimulation and ingenuity of a man who seems only to have obtained a momentary triumph over his fortunes, that he might afterwards feel more bitterly and more conspicuously their fierce reverse, and fall unlamented a victim to his pride, vanity, and guilt ; his strange history renders whatever relates to him interesting, and under this impression it is that I have given publicity to the letter in question.

The Government of Brusselles, after the troubles had subsided in 1787, became a scene of impudent and scandalous intrigues of various kinds : neither the Minister, Mr. de Trauttsmandorff,  
nor

nor the Commander in Chief M. D'Alton, had the talents and moderation necessary for their elevated situations at any period, and least of all in times of civil distraction. The former of these was vain, ignorant, and weak; the latter was equally ignorant, brutal, and haughty, from the protection he received at Vienna, through the influence and credit of M. De Laszy, with the Emperor. The man, with whose wife the Minister lived in equal intimacy with the husband, aspired to the chief command, and was assisted in his pretensions with all the interest of the man who dishonoured him. The Commander in Chief was no less occupied in using his credit with the Emperor to get the Chancellor Crumppippen appointed Minister; and thus the two men who ought to have held most together, for their fortunes were, by the circumstances of the times, united, caballed against each other, and mutually labored to destroy each other. The consequence was, that the troubles in the Low Countries increased under their administration, and as the civil and military departments were in known hostility to each other, the Government not only became weak and contemptible, but lost all its elasticity as well as energy. The conduct of these two men offers another wholesome lesson to Princes not to confide the administration of public affairs to men with different views, and who have as little capacity as union. M. D'Al-

ton, to excuse a conduct more than criminal, and to throw the whole blame on his colleague, attributed in a memoir, written in justification of the Commander in Chief, the entire loss of the Belgic Provinces to the misconduct of the Count de Trauttsmandorff. This memoir was written, at Mr. D'Akon's request, by Le Brun, who having an antipathy to both men, thought it a very fair opportunity to draw money from both, and for this purpose he addressed the following letter to the Imperial Minister, which not producing the desired effect, the memoir was instantly published.

*From Monsieur Le BRUN to Count de TRAUTTS-  
MANSDORFF.*

*Liege, le 20 Decembre, 1789.*

“ MONSIEUR LE COMTE,

“ IL fut un temps heureux où votre influence immédiate sur le gouvernement général des Pays Bas, vous laissoit tous les moyens de faire reparer une injustice à notre égard.\* Il n'y a pas un an, il n'y a pas même huit mois, votre Excellence pouvoit encore nous affreres sans obstacle, et nous faire  
obtenir

\* Alluding to his having defended the Emperor in 1787, when he fled for protection to Vienna. He had two interviews with the Emperor, who did not even defray the expences of his journey; and, but for the trifle I sent him, both he and his colleague must have begged their way back. All that they obtained was permission to resume their journal.

obtenir sans délai le remboursement de tout ce que nous avons perdu pour avoir épousé trop chaudement la cause de feu l'Empereur.—Si vous l'aviez fait Monsieur le Comte, ce service n'eût pas été perdu pour votre Excellence : nous aurions la douce satisfaction aujourd'hui de lui prouver que nous ne sommes pas ingrats.

“ Nous ne chercherons pas à persuader ici votre Excellence qu'il étoit de l'intérêt de la Maison d'Autriche que nous fussions complètement satisfaits à cet égard.—Au besoin nous pourrions en donner les motifs, et prouve que si l'on nous eut mis à couvert de nos pertes passées, et des risques futurs, nous eussions pu alors employer des moyens propres à fixer la fermentation en faveur de Souverain, malgré les intrigues des deux partis.

“ Non, ce n'est point le moment d'agiter cette question, mais le temps est venu de vous dire M. le Comte, qu'il est toujours de l'intérêt du gouvernement, surtout quand il doit compte de ses actions à un chef suprême, de ne point dédaigner les représentations fondées, des gens de lettres, et principalement de ceux qui ont su s'emparer de l'opinion publique.—Le gouvernement du Pays Bas, votre Excellence le fait mieux que personne, a marqué envers nous à cette maxime politique.—Si nous étions haineux, l'occasion de nous en domma-  
ger

ger se présente, et nous en profiterions,—mais le fiel de la vengeance ne troublera jamais la sérénité de nos âmes ; cette passion est au dessous de nos caractères ; il est plus doux d'être utile ; nous avons toujours cherché à l'être, et *c'est le parti que nous prendrons à l'égard de votre Excellence, dans une affaire très délicate qui la concerne, et qui implique sérieusement d'autres personnages importants.*—Mais comme il est plus que temps que nous pensions sérieusement à réparer la brèche faite à notre fortune, il faut un accommodement entre les intéressés et nous, à fin que nous co-opérons à les sauver d'une disgrâce certaine. Aujourd'hui surtout, que pour avoir parlé en faveur de Leopold, pour avoir travaillé à lui conserver des partisans, nous nous trouvons de nouveaux les victimes de notre dévouement à la Maison d'Autriche, et que pour récompense, notre journal est encore interdit, prohibé, et arrêté pour toutes les provinces ; ce qui depuis deux à trois mois nous occasionne une nouvelle perte de 4 à 500 louis. Voici Monsieur le Comte de quoi il est question de vous à nous—une personne que vous devinerez peut-être, mais que nous ne pouvons encore vous nommer, nous a proposé de rédiger un mémoire pour feu le Général Comte D'Alton\* et nous a remis en conséquence des papiers de la plus grande importance.—Entre autres il se trouve beaucoup de lettres originales, partie votre Excellence, partie de certaines autres personnes attachées à des intérêts qui n'étoient pas trop, ceux du Souverain. Des dépêches ministérielles, des rapports, &c.

nous



nous ne vous cacherons pas M. le Comte *qu'une main habile* pourroit faire un terrible usage de cet ensemble de pieces qui toutes portent avec elles un caractère irrecusable d'authenticité.—Elles peuvent non seulement servir à l'entière justification de Comte D'Alton, mais encore à perdre plusieurs personnes dans l'opinion publique et dans l'esprit du Roi d'Hongrie, & à en denoncer plus d'une, comme responsable de la perte actuelle des provinces Beligiques.—On peut aisément conjecturer d'apres tous les renseignements que nous avons, que vous avez été, M. le Comte, entraîné dans une cabale dont vous ignoriez peut-être encore les projets et le but. Cette cabale existoit avant votre nomination au Ministère ; et celui qui la conduisoit, l'homme le plus adroitement ambitieux, avoit tout prévu pour s'emparer de votre Excellence à son arrivée aux Pays Bas, c'étoit le plus difficile ; il a aisément alors continué à vous diriger, l'ecueil étoit peut-être inévitable.

“ Tout autre qu'un homme nourri dès l'enfance dans les grands principes d'administration, dans ceux de cette philosophie éclairée qui conduit aujourd'hui l'Assemblée Nationale de France, tout autre y auroit succombé ; & si la Revolution n'eut pas été consommée, votre Excellence et le General d'Armes eussent probablement été sacrifiés—c'étoit le but—Les affaires ayant pris une tournure toute

différente de ce qu'on espiroit, il n'a pas été de l'intérêt de vos alentours de vous compromettre, & on a cru plus aisé et plus court de sacrifier le Général D'Alton—et il est mort ! Mais pas assez tôt pour ses ennemis ; car il a en le tems d'instruire un vengeur, et de remettre entre ses mains de terribles monumens des intrigues des cours ; heureusement celui-ci s'est adressé à nous pour en être secondé. Vos intérêts M. le Comte exigent d'assoupir entièrement cette affaire, et d'empêcher à tout prix la publication du *memoire* dont nous nous sommes chargés. Mais vous sentez bien qu'il en coutera pour y parvenir. 1. Il faut gagner l'ami de M. D'Alton,\* car il a imaginé toutes les précautions pour ne point être pris au depourvu.

“ Il a déposé une copie authentique de tous ses papiers en Hollande. Il en tient une autre, nous en avons une aussi, et les originaux vont être mis sous peu en lieu de sûreté.—Mais si nous sommes secondés, nous pouvons promettre de l'amener à nos vues, et de terminer l'affaire à votre satisfaction. 2. Pour sacrifier les avantages que nous sommes assurés de retirer de la composition et du débit de ce *memoire*, il faut que nous en soyions largement dédommagés.—Nous vous avouons cependant que si nous avions obtenu dans

\* Jaubert, this friend of Mr. D'Alton applied to me to procure him permission to go to Botany Bay in 1788.

le temps nos indemnités, nous aurions rougi, de mettre un prix à ce service ; mais le tort que ce refus tacite de la part de votre Excellence nous a occasionné est incalculable, & nous sommes dans l'embarras ; consultez vous M. le Comte, et consultez les autres personnes également intéressé à ce que rien ne transpire ; et faites nous sans délai connoître vos intentions.—Mais entre-tems, comme l'éloignement où vous vous trouverez les uns des autres laisseroit un trop long intervalle entre vos réponses, reciproques, et celle que nous attendons de votre Excellence, nous vous prions de nous accuser la reception de la presente, courrier par courrier, *et nous vous promettons de tenir la chose en sur-séance jusqu' à ce momet*, et à tous evenemens si l'ami de Monsieur D'Alton ne vouloit pas capituler—Il y aura d'autres moyens de servir votre Excellence, que nous nous reservons de lui develloper au besoin.

“ Etoit signé,

“ LE BRUN.”\*

\* Vide the end of the Appendix for the Translation to the above Letter.

## APPENDIX a.

It has been my misfortune to have incurred this reproach, and most certainly without having ever deserved it; writing has been an amusement to me from my infancy, but if it was even my resource for a maintenance, I would rather renounce my existence than dishonour literature by falsifying my principles, or writing to gratify private personal revenge. The one I hold to be infamous, and the other both infamous and unmanly.

Among the many tales that malice has whispered, and folly believed, is that of my having received *five hundred pounds from the Duke of Bedford, for the letter which I addressed, through the medium of the press, to Mr. Henry Duncombe!* Those who have spread such a report would have approached nearer to the confines of probability, if they had said, that the haggard antiquated rival of her Royal Highness had been pensioned by Mother Windsor to keep her in countenance—but it is not only on this occasion that I have been misrepresented, every passage in which I  
have

have endeavoured to do justice to the former measures of government has been ascribed to some unworthy motive, in which it has even been asserted, that on a recent occasion I had written at the instigation of the Minister for a purpose that I trust he would disdain as much and as vehemently as myself. This slander was in such currency, from the unusual industry of those whose object it was to render Carleton House once more a tower of strength to their ambition, that the minister, I am told, formally contradicted it to the personage whom it was most necessary to preserve from defusion.

I do not hold this fact from any person connected with government, but from a gentleman with whom I have the honour to be acquainted, a person of rank, who is very much attached to his Royal Highness, and I believe in his confidence; and who certainly is not in the habits of intimacy with the Minister, or favourably disposed towards his measures, I had flattered myself that a note in the preface to a former publication \* would have preserved me from a reproach

\* " That the various descriptions of people who have attached themselves to the fortunes of Mr. Fox, with a view to the improvement of their own, should insinuate that the author of this letter is a ministerial scribbler, because he has censured the



proach so illiberal and unjust; a reproach which no penury of fortune should ever force me to deserve: but as an opinion so injurious to my character

the conduct of opposition, has nothing in it to surprise or offend. It is perfectly in the order of things, that they should draw such an inference. It is the common and disgraceful logic of all parties, and appertaining no less to the faction in power, than to that which is out. There is no doubt but it will be made use of by both, without the least regard either to fact or decency whenever it suits their respective interests.

“ The attempt that has been made to discredit the following pages, and destroy their intended effect, by representing the author as a venal partizan of the Minister (as if the charge of venality could controvert facts!) certainly deserves notice: not on account of the author, for he has no schemes of personal ambition to gratify; he neither covers wealth nor popularity, and feels no other stimulus to action than the love of right: but on this occasion the cause of letters appears to be, in some degree, connected with the question of his guilt or innocence; and he hopes, by vindicating the purity of his intentions, to rescue literature in some sort, from the contempt and ignominy into which both parties seem anxious to involve it, in order that it should be formidable to neither, and that its exertions in the cause of truth or freedom should be without effect.

“ The strong internal evidence of truth and independence which every page of this pamphlet offers to the unbiaſſed judgment of mankind, would have preserved the author from a reproach so foul and unmerited, if the extreme profligacy of venal writers, hired by contending factions to praise what they approve, and to decry what they condemn, had not thrown a general odium on almost every species of political writing.

“ The

ter and offensive to my feelings, may yet, perhaps, be kept in malevolent circulation by the ingenuity of those who devised it, it is a justice that I owe to myself,

“ The forlorn and hapless female, compelled by the perfidy of her seducer, to seek refuge from famine and despair in the resources of prostitution, has an excuse in her misfortunes for the infamy of her calling, and claims at once the pity and forgiveness of the world ! But man, with numberless avenues to honest honourable competency before him, and free to chuse ! that he should become a willing prostitute, a slave to faction, or a pander to authority, is as lamentable as it is vile and inexcusable !

“ That he, whose talents and attainments enable him to promote the general happiness of society, should degrade, pervert, and sacrifice *man's noblest faculties* to serve the purpose of sordid avarice and irregular ambition ; that he should prostitute those talents and attainments to the cause of faction, and descending to flatter guilt or imbecility, become an instrument, a mere automaton, in the hands of clerks, fitted by nature to the desks they write at, is as incomprehensible, as it is humiliating and offensive ! Nor is it less humiliating and offensive to reflect, that those whose duty it is to cherish integrity and talents should have an interest in debasing them, and seek, in the degradation of literature, the means of aggrandizing themselves and their dependents, as if their paltry interests were superior to those of the community, or that government was best supported by trick, fraud, and violence !

“ It is full time that literature should vindicate itself from such aspersions. A rectitude of conduct, as well as of intention, can alone entitle it to respect, and this character once established, it will resume its proper rank in society, and obtain that influence  
over

myself, as well as to the Minister and his friends, to declare, that he never suggested to me any one of the subjects on which I have presumed to publish

over the public mind, which will operate as a check on the arrogant and presumptuous ignorance of one party, and on the sinister and mischievous designs of the other. The author of the following pages, whose character, habits, and language, place him equally above the calumny of those who are enriched by human calamity, and of those who, under the mask of patriotism, would throw the nation into anarchy, feels it incumbent on him to declare, that it is his firm and unalterable opinion that an opposition is as necessary to the preservation of liberty, as an administration is to that of order; but he will never condescend to decorate with an epithet so dignified the conspiracy of a few individuals, whose indiscriminate opposition to every measure of the Crown is well known, and from melancholy experience, to be nothing more than an interested, selfish contest for power, for the sake of the emoluments and patronage of office; he will never countenance the impudent pretensions of men, who having already deceived the people, have forfeited all claim to their confidence, and ought not to be trusted; whose scandalous and dishonourable scramble for places has brought opposition into disrepute and contempt, from which it can only be extricated by other men coming forward, with other principles, and with unblemished characters. Nor is the author of the following letter conscious that any thing he has ever written can be construed into a fulsome or an unmerited panegyric of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose conduct, capacity, and measures, shall, when necessary, be investigated with the same freedom and inflexible regard to justice, which characterize this pamphlet.

lish my sentiments, nor has he ever been in any one instance whatever, apprised of my intentions before they were executed.

I am little versed in drawing declarations ; it is the business of a special pleader, to which I confess myself unequal, but I wish it to be fully and unequivocally understood, and at the same to be received with all the honest welcome due to truth, that neither Mr. Pitt nor the Secretaries of the Treasury, nor any particular friends of the Minister, ever were consulted by me, or saw either the letter in question, or any other of my pamphlets,

“ In speaking of him comparatively with Mr. Fox, on the subject of the unjustifiable application to Parliament on the part of his Royal Highness, to discharge debts improvidently contracted, and in breach of a solemn promise, voluntarily given to the nation, the author has done nothing more than render a just tribute of praise to the former which was due to him ; and if the conduct of the two gentlemen on this occasion had been reversed, the merit (which by the bye was merely negative) would have been accorded without hesitation to the latter. For the author of this pamphlet is the last man in the world to go to market for opinions or applause. He disdains the unworthy, the disgraceful traffic, and rigidly attached to principles which cannot be controverted, he will never condemn Mr. Fox when he is in the right, nor support Mr. Pitt when he is in the wrong.

*Preface to the Letter addressed to the Prince of Wales,*  
page 8.

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until

until they were printed and exposed to the censure or the approbation of the world.

It is at all times painful to be misunderstood, and infinitely more so to be misrepresented. I aspire to no dignities, I look forward to no employment, nor is it my intention to solicit any favours, either from the present administration, or from any future. I do not mean to assail the Treasury with a pistol in one hand, and a pen in the other; and I do not think that either party will compliment me from affection. My lot is humble, but it contents me; I am happy, and shall be more so when my mind emancipates itself from the gloom in which the folly and perfidy of politics has too long enveloped it. All that I desire of mankind is justice, but unfortunately for those who wish it, and who have nothing to fear from it, there is nothing in nature more difficult to obtain!



## APPENDIX b.

A FRENCH bishop, whose name I forbear to mention, in compassion to his misfortunes, required Government some time since to punish the author and printer of some paragraphs which appeared in a daily paper, lamenting the dangerous increase, and condemning, in general terms, without any mention of names, the conduct of that class of Frenchmen, who, instead of flying in all directions from their country on the first alarm, ought to have staid at home, as Englishmen would have done under similar circumstances, and have defended their acres, their wives, and their children. I will not comment on the impertinence of men, who were cowards at that time, and have been traitors of the very worst description ever since, and who have proved an equal curse to this country and their own; neither will I expatiate on the folly which imagined that Ministers, who are daily exposed to the most severe animadversions in the public prints, could prevent the appearance of similar strictures on the conduct of others. I will

merely suggest to these tenacious gentlemen, whose prejudices seem to gather strength from disgrace and misfortune, and who are neither to be taught wisdom by experience, nor philosophy by example, whether their having applied these general allusions to themselves is not a strong presumption that they felt the justice of the reproach, and that it was their conscience that spoke through their vanity ? they are yet to learn, that it is a maxim in equity, that those who vindicate themselves before they are accused are guilty ; but whether these men, sitting in vindictive judgment on such of their hapless countrymen, who, anxious to preserve a medium between despotism and anarchy, have failed in the laudable attempt, and become outcasts, are innocent or guilty, their application was impertinent, and proves they are not to be corrected even by the severest lessons of adversity. Surely these gentlemen have been long enough in England to know, that Ministers have neither the power nor the right to interdict any animadversions ; that the laws alone can take cognizance of them, and even these are without activity, however severe the animadversions may be, whenever they are founded in truth and justice. Let this officious priest be told (for it is never too late to learn) that if he reads his breviary more, and meddles less with the affairs of this world, it will

will better suit his age and functions ; while his companions in this ridiculous and fruitless expedition to Whitchall (would to God I could call it the funeral proceſſion of their vanity and arrogance !) may learn from its failure, that truth is not to be ſilenced in this country by the rude hand of power ; and that no claſs of men, however exalted in rank or fortune, are exempt from cenſure when their conduct deſerves it.

Should ever the pretenſions of this worſt deſcription of emigrants to the hoſpitality they have received be examined ; ſhould ever the pretenſions of theſe men to our confidence be inveſtigated ; of theſe men whoſe unrelenting vengeance exacts from the valour of this country, in oppoſition to its juſtice the full reſtoration of tyranny and ſuperſtition, on the ſhores they have abandoned, and who fondly believe that the ſole object of the war is to reſtate them in the power they have forfeited, and in the poſſeſſions they have diſhonoured,\* it will be found that the confidence they have received, has been abuſed to the very

\* “ *Pourquoi, Monſieur, voulez vous qu'on faſſe la paix, nous n'avons pas encore nos biens ?*” Such was the anſwer of an emigrant of this deſcription to a gentleman, who expreſſed a wiſh for peace ; and theſe men, like the Jews, ſtill believe in a Meſſiah !

extent to which it has been given, and ministers, awakened from their dream of unconditional submission, will ultimately execrate, as I do, the blind infatuated objects who have so fatally misled them.

I aver it as a fact, founded on the authority of French history, and confirmed by the knowledge of every candid and well-informed man, that it is owing to the French nobility (laity and clergy) and to the unexampled profligacy in which several of them lived, that the French revolution is to be attributed. It is to those who rendered this dreadful expedient, this terrible remedy, a measure of necessity, by their prodigality and vexations, that all the mischiefs and all the horrors that have ensued are to be attributed: they are, in fact, the authors of the revolution, and not the blind misguided rabble, or even the factious and unprincipled few who headed that rabble in 1789. The direful change in France has been produced by the highest orders in society: men who, with their families and dependents, lived in splendor and in pomp on the plunder of their country, whose dissolute manners were a scandal to religion and morals, and who basked in the sunshine of the Court of Versailles, and sharing its profusion, partook of its crimes!—The history of France is another woeful proof, that revolutions

tions do not originate with the people, but in vicious and corrupt governments ; but for these vices and these corruptions, the huge and terrific mass which cannot be contemplated without horror, would have remained passive and inert. It is now in motion with a force that appears irresistible, and an irregularity that defies prescience to ascertain its direction. Hence, my great cause of quarrel ; hence, the contempt and abhorrence in which I hold this remnant of a worthless and perfidious Court, whose bankruptcy has produced calamities of an extent and duration unexampled in history, and which, after having deluged France with blood, has plunged my country in a war, the issue of which it is impossible to foresee. But for the wanton abuse of power in the Court of Versailles, but for its scandalous profusion, rapacity, and profligacy, the monarchy of France would have been in existence, while Europe, preserved from the dreadful convulsions which agitate it from one extremity to the other, would most probably have continued in the full enjoyment of peace, order, and security.

It is to those to whom the cause of humanity is dear ; to those in whose virtuous minds the happiness and freedom of mankind have an honourable, permanent hold. It is to those in whose estimation



mation the people count for something, and those who govern them for no more than they deserve, that I appeal, to pardon the warmth and intemperance with which I have execrated the fatal, treble consequences of guilt, folly, and ignorance, combined ; and not to the cold-blooded few who WILL millions to death as caprice, interest, or ambition dictates !

## APPENDIX, No. I.

## MEMORANDUMS.

*Tuesday, November 13, 1792.*

*At half past 1, P. M.*

MONSIEUR \*\*\*\*\* called on me, and informed me that a minister would be named very soon by the executive council at Paris, to this Court, and that if he was not instantly received, war would be declared against this country.—That if he was received, an alliance would be proposed, and if this should be rejected, ill consequences would result.

I asked him if he was authorised to say as much: he said, not absolutely, but that he soon should be.

I inquired if he knew for a certainty that it was the wish of France to be united to this country. He answered, that the debates in the Committee of Ministers proved it, if he had not other assurances, but that he knew from his correspondence with those ministers, that it was their wish, and that it was their intention, to put the good or bad disposition of this country very speedily to the test.

I mentioned the possibility of being deceived by France, and that the distrust which prevailed in England might operate against any treaty of alliance with France. He replied, that the actual government could be better depended upon than that of Versailles.

I then inquired if he thought the French government would pledge itself not to attempt any revolution in this country by intrigue and cabal, and whether it would engage itself to guarantee the internal tranquillity of the nation, as well as its independence and possessions without. He assured me that he could answer in the affirmative, and that France at this time felt herself so powerful, and at the same time so well disposed towards this country, that she would make the offer of friendship for the purpose of securing the peace of the world, but that she as little dreaded England as she did the republic of Ragusa.\*

In

\* The person with whom the above conversation passed possessed a mind wonderfully intelligent, but heated or rather infected, in common with the rest of his countrymen, with that enthusiasm which could alone ensure success to the revolution, against so many powerful assailants. He stated to me in a detail which I thought favoured more of prejudice than of fact, the resources of his country, and the situation of France with some of the Courts of Europe. The events of the war have proved his information to have been perfectly just; and it is seriously to be lamented, that his countrymen

trymen

In the course of the conversation he acknowledged that the intention of this country would be demanded, under the idea that in the spring it intended to take a part against France. I found that the council at Paris was much alarmed, and I also discovered that people have been employed to start questions in the debating societies in London, for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the people against a neutrality that is considered as dangerous and suspicious. I was given to understand that this was the favourable moment for an union with France, and that as it was known that I was a friend to liberty, and known to ministers, the offer was made to me to pave the way for this desirable alliance, if I would undertake it; and that I should receive every confidential communication I could desire, relative to the views of France, and the particulars of the basis on which it was proposed to form a treaty. The questions I asked are to be trans-

in England, who are suspected of possessing a credit with administration which they do not deserve, had been as well versed in political arithmetic, and less under the influence of their original sin which no baptism can purify. If my intelligence is correct, I believe that Mr. Pitt received much about the same time information of a similar nature from a gentleman worthy of credit, who had been a member of one of the Ephemery administrations in France. I certainly do not mean M. Bertrand. The person, however, did not receive, as I have been told, that credit which was due to the accuracy of his statement.

mitted by the messenger this evening to Paris, and I am promised to be told the result.

It appears to me that the French are playing a very artful, but sure game, with this country. Their object is to enlist the people in their interest, to alienate men's minds from monarchy, and to reducing government to the necessity of coming into their views. The question lately started at a debating society in the city, proves that indiscreet measures are taking to force ministers into an avowed approbation of the French revolution, and an alliance with the Republic ; and if the French are not powerfully checked in their career of victory ; if even this country will have no alternative but war ; and if war, it will be the most furious that ever existed : it will be the history of Rome and Carthage revived, and Great Britain, in that case, may possibly experience the sad destiny of the latter !



## APPENDIX, No. II.

*Londres, le 28 Novembre, soir, 1792,  
l'an 1er. de la Republique Française.*

“ MONSIEUR,

“ JE reçois à l'instant votre billet de ce matin, et je m'empresse d'y repondre. Je suis infiniment sensible à la delicateffe avec laquelle vous avez refusé de me nommer à Monsieur Pitt ; vous connaissez la pureté de mes principes, et des motifs qui m'ont engagés à vous parler de l'utilité qu'il y auroit à un rapprochement très prochain entre nos deux pays. Vous pouvez d'après cela dire au Ministre que ce sera avec empressement que je saisirai l'occasion de lui prouver mon zèle à servir ma patrie, et mon desir d'être utile à la votre, en m'occupans des moyens les plus prompts d'operer une réunion si neccessaire, et que les circonstances ou les prejugués ont si long tems éloignée.

“ Croyés, Monsieur, à la sincerité de l'amitié que je vous ai depuis long tems voués et à l'estime qu'on a si aisement pour vous dès qu'on a le bonheur de vous connaitre.

“ \*\*\*\*.”

*A Monsieur MILES,  
Cleveland Row, St. James's.*

## TRANSLATION.

*London, 28th of November, at night, 1792,  
the first year of the French Republic.*

“ SIR, .

“ I HAVE this instant received your note, and fly to answer it. I am extremely sensible of your delicacy in refusing to name me to Mr. Pitt ; you know the purity of my principles, and the motives which engaged me to speak to you upon the utility of a proper understanding between the two countries. You may, Sir, on the receipt of this, inform the Minister, that I shall seize with avidity this occasion to convince him of my zeal to serve my country, and the great desire I have to be useful to your’s, in studying the best means of accomplishing an union so necessary, and which either the prejudices or the circumstances of the times have so long prevented. Confide, Sir, in the sincerity of that friendship which I have long felt for you, and that esteem which those who have the happiness to know you.

“ I am, &c.

“ \*\*\*\*.”

To Mr. MILES.

APPEN-

## APPENDIX, No. III.

*To Mr. Le BRUN.**A Londres, 19 Dec. 1792.*

“ JE vous ai déjà écrit par Monsieur Maret qui est parti hier pour se rendre à Paris. Je vous écris encore aujourd’hui confidentiellement et c’est Mons. Noel qui aura la bonté de vous faire passer ma lettre.

“ Je ne fais pas de quelle maniere Mr. \*\*\*\*\* s’est expliqué, sur ce qui s’est passé ici ; mais il me semble que vous êtes dans une erreur qui pourrait vous faire agir tout autrement que vous ne le devez.

“ On vous a fait croire que c’étoit Mr. Pitt qui avoit provoqué la conference qu’il a eu avec M. Maret, et c’est probablement dans cette croyance que vous avez pris un ton peu convenable aux circonstances, et qui pourroit éloigner au lieu de rapprocher les deux nations.

“ C’est moi qui fus la cause de cette conference, c’est moi qui l’ai fait proposée au Ministre, et c’est moi qui l’ai obtenu. Mr. \*\*\*\*\* depuis quelques mois laissait échapper quelques mots de tems en tems qui me faisoient croire qu’il avoit des relations directes

directes avec le pouvoir executif à Paris, et finalement qu'il étoit autorisé à traiter secrètement avec notre gouvernement; comme j'ai toujours désiré, et peut-être plus que personne, la réunion des deux pays—comme j'ai toujours mis un grand prix à une alliance si convenable à la France et à l'Angleterre; je me suis déterminé, dès que je ferai assuré de la mission de \*\*\*\*\*, de me mettre en avant pour réaliser un objet que j'ai eu très sincèrement à cœur depuis l'an 1781, après que cette résolution fut prise : j'ai demandé \*\*\*\*\* à la première fois qu'il est venu chez moi, s'il étoit vraiment autorisé à traiter confidentiellement avec le ministre ? il me répondit qu'oui ; alors j'ai pris les mesures nécessaires pour obtenir la conférence qu'il desirait avoir. Après beaucoup de peine de mon côté, et beaucoup de pour parler : on m'a demandé le nom de celui qui étoit autorisé par le pouvoir executif à traiter avec le gouvernement, j'ai refusé net de le nommer sans une assurance positive qu'il seroit reçu, et même avec cette assurance je ne voulois le nommer sans sa permission.

“ J'écrivis ensuite à Mr. \*\*\*\*\* la lettre dont je vous envoie ci-incluse la copie. Mr. \*\*\*\*\* m'a toujours juré qu'il étoit autorisé à voir le Ministre, et je vous laisse à juger de ma surprise, quand j'ai vu sortir de derrière le rideau M. Maret, comme chargé d'une mission secrète, et que c'étoit lui, et non Mr. \*\*\*\*\* qui devoit voir Mr. Pitt. Si j'ai

été étonné de tout ce qui s'est passé, j'ai dû l'être bien d'avantage quand j'ai appris que M. Maret n'était pas autorisé de traiter des affaires politiques entre les deux nations, mais un autre !

“ Voilà l'histoire abrégée de cette ridicule aventure qui m'ôtera à jamais peut-être les moyens d'entamer une négociation si vous n'autorisez pas Maret ou Noel à donner des explications suffisantes sur les points qui semblent donner, et avec raison, de l'inquiétude à notre gouvernement. Vous verrez par ce détail avec combien de délicatesse, de bonne foi, et de fermeté, je me suis conduit dans cette affaire, et que ce n'a été nullement M. Pitt ; mais Mr. Miles, qui a provoqué l'entrevue qu'a eu M. Maret avec le Ministre. Je suis très mécontent de ce que le \*\*\*\*\*. Vous ait induit en erreur, ce qui pourra avoir des suites facheuses, et je vous prie de bien réfléchir sur les instances que je vous fais encore, de ne pas perdre un moment à réparer la faute qu'un mal-entendu me paroît avoir produite. M. Maret vous donnera, sans doute, des éclaircissémens sur bien des choses que vous ne pouvez savoir que par lui. Il ne vous dissimulera pas l'attachement du peuple pour la constitution, et sa loyauté pour le Roi et son gouvernement. Il vous dira, que loin de vouloir adopter les rêveries bizarres qui sont à la mode actuellement en France, il est déterminé, coûte qu'il coûte, de laisser choses comme elles sont, et de ne permettre qu'on porte à la constitution

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tion aucune atteinte sous prétexte de réforme, par conséquent on vous a cruellement trompé, en vous assurant “ *que le peuple Anglois mécontent et opprimé n’attend que le signal pour se revolter ;*” \* au contraire, il est content, heureux, et attaché au Roi, aux loix, et à sa patrie, et prêt à les défendre jusqu’à la dernière goutte de son sang.

“ Voilà le vrai état des choses. Jugez d’après cela s’il vous convient de déclarer la guerre à une nation si unanime et si puissante ? J’attens votre réponse avec empressement.

“ W. MILES.”

*A Monsieur LE BRUN,*  
*Ministre pour des Affaires Etrangères, à Paris.*

#### TRANSLATION.

*London, Dec. 19, 1792.*

“ I HAVE already written to you, by Mr. Maret, who left this yesterday on his way to Paris ; I write to you again to-day, in confidence, and it is Mr. Noel who will have the goodness to transmit my letter to you. I do not know in what manner Mr. \*\*\*\*\* explained what has passed here ; but it appears to me that you are in an error, which may make you act very differently to what you

\* Report of Le Brun to the Convention.

ought ; you were made to believe that Mr. Pitt desired the conference which he had with Mr. Maret, in consequence of which you have used a stile which is certainly ill adapted to the circumstances of the moment, and which may separate instead of uniting the two nations : it was owing to me that that conference took place ; Mr. \*\*\*\*\* for several months past, had thrown out hints that he was in correspondence with the executive power at Paris, and finally, that he was authorised to treat secretly with our government : as I have always desired, perhaps more than any one else, an alliance between the two countries, as I have always estimated very highly an alliance so necessary to France and England, I resolved, the instant I was assured of the mission of Mr. \*\*\*\*\*, to do every thing in my power to accomplish a project which I have had sincerely at heart since the year 1781 ; this resolution taken, I asked Mr. \*\*\*\*\*, the first time that he came to me afterwards, if he was really authorised to treat confidentially with the Minister, he answered in the affirmative ; it was then that I took the necessary measures to obtain that conference : after much trouble, I was asked the name of the person whom you had authorised, and I refused to name him without a positive assurance that he would be received, and even with this assurance, I would not name him before I had his permission. I wrote immediately to Mr. \*\*\*\*\* a copy of which I inclose you, Mr. \*\*\*\*\* always  
I 2 protested

protested to me that he was authorised to see Mr. Pitt, and I leave you to judge of my surprise when I beheld Monsieur Maret produced from behind the curtain, as charged with a secret mission, and that it was him, and not Mr. \*\*\*\*\*, who was to see Mr. Pitt : if I was astonished at what had happened, I was much more so when I was informed that it was not Mr. Maret, but another, who was authorised. Behold, Sir, the real history, which may deprive me for ever, perhaps, of the means of opening a negotiation, unless you authorise either Maret or Noel to give satisfactory explanations upon those points, which appear, and with reason, to have given great uneasiness to government : you will see by this detail, with what delicacy, firmness, and fidelity I have conducted myself in this business, and that it was not Mr. Pitt, but Mr. Miles, who was the occasion of the interview which Mr. Maret had with the Minister. I am very much displeased that Mr. \*\*\*\*\* has led you into an error which may have very unpleasant consequences, and I beg of you to reflect upon the request I have made you, not to lose a moment of time to repair the mischief that this mistake may have occasioned. Mr. Maret will give you all those explanations, which you can only know by him ; he will not conceal from you the attachment of the people to the constitution, their loyalty to the King and his government ; he will tell you, that far from adopting the wild reveries which are

in fashion in France, they are determined at all events, to remain as they are, and not to suffer the least attack against the constitution, under any pretence whatever. From hence you will perceive how very cruelly you have been deceived, on being assured, “ *that the English people, dissatisfied and* “ *oppressed, only attended the signal for a general revolt;*” \* so far from it, they are contented, they are happy, attached to the King; to their country, to its laws, and ready to defend them to the last moment of their lives. Such, Sir, is the true state of things, and I will leave you to judge how far it is prudent to declare war against a nation so unanimous and powerful. I wait your answer with impatience.

W. MILES.”

To M. LE BRUN,  
*Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at Paris.*

\* Discourse of Le Brun to the Convention.

## APPENDIX, No. IV.

*Paris, 11 Janvier, 1793.**Extract of a Letter from M. MARET to Mr. MILES.*

“ JE conviens avec vous que son annonce-  
tion sur les conférences de nos agens secrets  
n'est pas exacte ; je n'étais point agent secret.  
Je n'avais ni autorisation, ni mission, et j'ai dit  
la vérité, en le déclarant à vous et à Monsieur  
Pitt.”

## TRANSLATION.

“ I Agree with you that his \* report of the  
conferences with our secret agents † is not con-  
formable to truth. I was not a secret agent, I had  
no authority to treat, I had no mission, and  
when I declared this to Mr. Pitt and to your-  
self, I declared the truth.”

\* Monsieur Le Brun, Secretary of State for Foreign Af-  
fairs.

† Conferences said to have been had with Mr. Pitt, but  
falsely said.

APPEN-



## APPENDIX, No. V.

*Londres, No. 7, Cleveland Row, St. James's,  
le 18 Décembre, 1792.*

“ JE suis au desespoir, Monsieur, de voir tous mes efforts pour conserver la paix et rapprocher les deux nations prêts à s'échouer par des préventions mal-fondées, des mal-entendus et des intrigues sourdes et dangereuses autant, qu'elles sont contraires aux véritables intérêts des deux pays.

“ Si M. \*\*\* vous a rendu un compte fidele et détaillé de tout ce qui s'est passé entre lui et moi, relativement aux grands objets qui intéressent non seulement la France et l'Angleterre, mais l'univers entier, vous ne pouvez ignorer la loyauté et la franchise de mes procédés. Il ne s'agit cependant ni de ma franchise ni de ma loyauté ; mes principes politiques (dont je ne m'écarterai jamais) vous sont bien connus, ainsi que l'estime personnelle que vos talens et vos malheurs me firent concevoir pour vous. Je vous dirai seulement, que, n'ayant d'autre but que le bonheur du genre humain, ni d'autres guides que le sens commun et la probité, je ne crains nullement d'exposer mes principes et ma conduite au plus grand jour. Permettez donc que je me fasse un devoir de vous éclairer sur quelques objets  
très

très importants, et sur lesquels il me semble que vous avez des idées peu justes.

“ J’entreprends cette tâche d’autant plus volontiers, vous connoissant pour un homme trop juste pour ne pas écouter la raison et la vérité. Pendant mon séjour à Paris en 1790 et en 1791, j’ai observé avec beaucoup de regret et même d’inquietude des soupçons très mal fondés à l’égard des intentions de la Cour Britannique envers la France. Ces soupçons furent très fortement appuyés *par les menées des aristocrates qui crurent au salut, c’est à dire, au rétablissement de l’ancien gouvernement par un guerre, contre l’Angleterre. Animés d’un espoir plus que criminel, ils ont travaillé avec une lacheté digne de leur conduite toujours infame, à faire accroire au peuple toujours facile à tromper par sa bonté, que nos armemens pour faire entendre raison aux Espagnols étoient destinés à enlever à la France les Isles du Vents, et opérer une contre révolution.\** Il n’est point surprenant, Monsieur, qu’un

\* I was at Paris at this time, but an accommodation taking place with Spain, the counter-revolution was necessarily suspended until Mr. Burke published his *Reflections on the French Revolution*. It was expected that this celebrated work would effectually prove that gabelles, corvées, lettres de cachet, bastilles, slavery, and priesthood, were not such bad things as the people had, from their incompetency to judge, and little capacity to feel, been taught to believe; if obstinacy is a proof of ignorance, the French are very much impregnated with the latter

qu'un peuple échappé des fers, et toujours entouré de ces anciens tyrans la noblesse et le clergé, qui travaillent sans relâche à le replonger  
sous

latter commodity; for all the fine writings, nor all the fine speeches of Mr. Burke made no more impression on them than if he had whistled Lillibulero. "Nil desperandum" will ever be the motto of a people whose gaiety is never at the highest, until their fortunes are at the lowest. What the *Reflections on the French Revolution* could not effect, the *Regicide Peace*, (which I hear is in the press) it is said, will infallibly accomplish. This is the great and comprehensive miracle which is to work the complete restoration of absolute monarchy and superstition. The Regicide Peace is the vast miracle that is to operate all that is necessary to ensure the immediate return of beads, relics, crosses, and friars, together with an ocean of holy water, from their disgraceful pilgrimage! Such are the expectations formed from the wonder working pen of Mr. Burke; and as all these are matters in which we have no right to meddle, for they relate entirely to the internal management of an estate that does not belong to us, the proprietors of which being of age and in possession, are surely at liberty to act as they please; but if the wonder-working pen of this gentleman has other objects in view, and if one of its objects is to give the lie to the divine precepts of Christianity, by preaching war and desolation; if its principal design is to stimulate the British nation to become an unworthy auxiliary to slaves and fanatics in their impious attempt to restore despotism and superstition, I will recommend it to my country and to its ministers, to follow the wiser policy of Spain and France, that acknowledged the Protector Cromwell, rather than war with a people resolved to be free. The Court of Madrid was the first to acknowledge the English Republic in the last century, and Cardinal Mazarine, (who was at least as good a statesman as Mr. Burke,) made no objection to treat with regicides. Even Mr. Burke himself, at one period of his life, corresponded with regicides, and in the very height of the fierce conflict between

sous le despotisme, ajoute foi à des mensonges inventés par des mal intentionnés, et soutenus pour ainsi dire par la crainte; mais que des gens instruits,

this country and her colonies, recommended a peace with regicides; for what else was the recommending the Sovereign to acknowledge the independence of America, than a stab to royalty which America had spurned as a thing unfit to be retained, and unworthy of its acceptance? I saw Mr. Burke go up in proud procession, and proud of the embassy, to the British throne, with an address to the King, beseeching his Majesty to inflict with his own hand, the very wound of death to regal authority; to give, as it were, the *coup-de-grace* to expiring royalty, prostrate and bleeding on the distant shores of the Atlantic, nor can it be denied that the monarch would have shared the fate of the monarchy, at almost any period of the unnatural contest, if his person had unhappily fallen into the hands of his revolted subjects. Mr. Burke knows this fact at least *as well*, if not *better* than any man in England, and with this knowledge of himself, and of past events, what must his effrontery be, to come forward and declaim against rebels—himself a rebel, of the very worst description! For it is rebellion against humanity! It is worse, it is rebellion against heaven and earth! It is rebellion against God and man! for Mr. Burke to council ministers not to make peace with regicides—himself a regicide! All-gracious Heaven, when will men learn to be consistent! Or rather, when will they cease to be unjust! Whether it is the delirium of madness, or the delirium of vanity, that stimulates this indiscreet champion of an infatuated priesthood and nobility, to hatch, in his foul den, evils of the foulest nature; whether it is charity or folly to leave him at liberty to throw forth at random his wild and malignant foam, is for those to decide who have bloated him into a consequence that he never deserved; all that I contend for, is, that if his opinions are likely to influence our public councils in favour of war at this eventful moment, at a moment when

instruits, en soient les dupes, et que le gens éclairés soient assez credules pour croire les mille et un contes répandus contre le gouvernement Anglais, c'est un de ces événemens qui m'étonnent et m'affligent.

“ Le rapport également dénué de tout fondement que M. Pitt était l'ennemi juré de la révolution, fut reçu avec cette facilité aveugle, qui donne toujours aux mensonges, la victoire sur la vérité. J'ose vous renvoyer à toutes les déclarations publiques et reconnues du ministre Anglais, depuis le commencement de la révolution pour vous convaincre qu'il s'est fait un devoir de ne point se mêler des affaires intérieures de votre gouvernement. Je crois qu'il a toujours rejeté avec fermeté toutes les propositions d'attaques qui lui ont

our dearest interests are at stake, there will be œconomy in purchasing his silence at even quadruple the price at which the country has rewarded his labours and his apostacy.

It is not my wish to use an asperity of language unworthy of myself, or of the cause I have espoused, but considering Mr. Burke to have provoked, by his injudicious reflections on the French revolution, the execrable libels which have disgraced the press, and unhinged the public mind in this country; beholding him as the man who gave at once existence and celebrity to the worst of incendiaries; and that if it had not been for Mr. Burke, we should never have heard of Mr. Paine, I throw myself upon the candour of those who feel as warm an interest in the preservation of the constitution as myself, to pardon whatever may appear to them to be rash or intemperate.



été faites contre les Français, et qu'il n'a jamais voulu s'engager en aucun projet de contre révolution ; s'il s'est fait un devoir de ne jamais se mêler de vos affaires, il se fait aussi une gloire d'être resté attaché à ses principes sages et équitables.

“ Non content de lui reprocher de vouloir vous faire la guerre—non content de l'avoir accusé d'être l'ennemi juré de la France, on a poussé la calomnie au point de dire qu'il y a envoyé de l'argent pour exciter et fomenter les troubles. L'impossibilité de la chose, suffit pour toute réponse à une accusation aussi ridicule qu'atroce. Aucun ministre Anglais ne peut dissiper, de cette manière, le trésor public, il est obligé de rendre compte de tout ce qu'il dépense. Rappelez vous aussi le système d'économie que M. Pitt a adopté, et les épargnes qu'il a faites, et vous conviendrez avec moi, qu'il ne peut avoir prodigué de l'argent de la manière qu'on le dit. Au reste je vous prie de bien examiner l'état de votre pays et du notre, sans consulter ni la justice ni la politique. Croyez vous qu'il y auroit de la prudence à ajouter l'Angleterre au nombre de vos ennemis ? La première fois que je vis M. Noël, et qu'il m'eut appris l'objet de son voyage, je lui promis de lui procurer le moyen d'obtenir une entrevue avec M. Pitt, dès qu'il eut l'autorisation du conseil exécutif, la conduite qu'il s'est prescrite a été très prudente, très sage, et s'il  
eut

eut été ici il y a quinze jours, il auroit probablement eu la conférence que j'ai obtenue pour Maret.

“ J'ai à me louer de leur conduite honnête à mon égard, et loyale envers leur patrie, et si vous eussiez permis au dernier d'achever ce qu'il a si bien commencé, je crois que vous auriez eu lieu d'en être très satisfait. Après vous avoir assuré que je n'ai aucun intérêt personnel dans la négociation que j'avois presque entamé, j'espère que vous vous prêterez à des conseils sages et prudents, et que vous ne perdrez pas l'occasion qui se présente d'assurer le bonheur de votre pays, et la tranquillité de l'Europe. N'imaginez point que le peuple Anglais soit disposé à se revolter contre le gouvernement—n'imaginez pas qu'on desire la guerre ici—point du tout—nous désirons de vivre en bonne intelligence avec la France.

“ Après les démarches que j'ai faits pour obtenir pour Maret une conférence avec M. Pitt, je fus très étonné que vous eussiez renvoyé M. Pitt à M. Chauvelin pour des explications. Monf. Maret vous expliquera bien des choses qui ne peuvent s'écrire.

“ Je vous prie de vous persuader, que je ne perdrai pas de vue pendant son absence du grand  
objet

objet qui m'intéresse.——Salut et Amitié.——  
Bon soir.

“ W. MILES.”

*A Monsieur LE BRUN,  
Ministre pour les Affaires Etrangères,  
à Paris.*

#### TRANSLATION.

*London, No. 7, Cleveland Row, St. James's  
18th December, 1792.*

“ I AM sincerely grieved to see all my efforts for preserving peace, and uniting the two nations, likely to fail through ill-founded prepossessions, misconceptions, and under-hand manœuvres, as dangerous as they are contrary to the real interest of both countries.

“ If \* \* \* has given you a faithful and particular account of all that passed between him and me concerning the great objects which interest, not only France and England, but the whole world, you cannot deny the candor and loyalty of my conduct. My candor and loyalty are, however, out of the question. My political principles, from which I never will depart, are well known to you, as well as that personal esteem with which your abilities and misfortunes long since inspired me. I shall only tell you, that, having no other object but the happiness of mankind, and no other guides but common sense  
and

and common honesty, I am not afraid of having my principles and conduct exposed to the whole world; permit me therefore to consider it as my duty to undeceive you concerning some very important objects, your ideas of which do not appear to me to be very just. I undertake this task the more willingly, as I hope you are too just a man not to listen to reason and truth.

“ During my stay in Paris, in the years 1790 and 1791, I saw, with great concern and uneasiness, the ill-grounded suspicions entertained of the intentions of the British Court towards France. These suspicions were strongly supported by the intrigues of the aristocrats, who thought they saw their salvation, that is to say, the re-establishment of the antient government, in a war with England. Animated by hopes more than criminal, they strove with a perfidy worthy of their conduct, always infamous, to persuade the people, who are always easily deceived through their credulity, that our armaments against Spain, were really destined to wrest from France the Leward Islands, and to bring about a counter-revolution. It was not surprising, Sir, that a people, just freed from their chains, and still surrounded by their late tyrants, (the nobility and clergy, who strive incessantly to replunge them into slavery) should give credit to lies invented by ill-designing persons, and supported as it

were by fear; but that well-informed men should be their dupes; that enlightened minds should be so credulous as to adopt the endless tales propagated against the English government, is one of those events which astonish and grieve me.

“ The report, equally groundless, that Mr. Pitt was the sworn enemy of the revolution, was received with that blind confidence which too often gives falsehood a superiority over truth. I dare refer you to all the public and avowed declarations of the English minister, to convince you, that from the beginning of the revolution he has made it a point not to meddle with the internal affairs of your government; that he has always rejected with firmness, every proposal made to him for attacking the French, and always refused to be concerned in any project for a counter-revolution; as he has made it his duty not to meddle with your affairs, so he has made it his glory to remain attached to his own wise and equitable principles.

“ Not satisfied with having imputed to him a design of making war against you; not content with having accused him of being the enemy of France, they have carried their calumnies to such a degree as to say that he sent money to France in order to excite and foment disturbances there. The impossibility of the thing is a sufficient



sufficient answer to an imputation, as ridiculous as it is atrocious. No English minister can squander the public money in that manner; he is obliged to give an account of what he spends. Remember, besides, the system of œconomy which Mr. Pitt has adopted, the savings he has made, and you will agree with me, that he cannot have lavished money as it has been said. Moreover I beg you will consider attentively the state of your country and of our's, independent of either justice or policy, and say, do you think it would be prudent to add England to the number of your enemies?—The first time that I saw M. Noel, \* and when he informed me of the object of his journey, I promised to find means of obtaining for him an interview with Mr. Pitt, as soon as he should be authorized by the executive council. His behaviour has been very wise and very prudent, and if he had been here a fortnight ago he probably would have had the conference which I obtained for Maret.

“ I cannot but approve of their civility towards me, and their loyalty towards their country; and if you had permitted the latter to complete what he had so well began, I believe you

\* Mr. Noel, I believe, had been at the same college with M. Le Brun, and there was a friendship between them. It is a justice due to this able and intelligent envoy, to declare that he was extremely anxious to preserve peace.

would have had reason to be satisfied with his conduct. After having assured you that I have no personal interest in the negotiation for which I had nearly paved the way, I hope you will yield to wise and prudent counsels, and that you will not miss the opportunity which offers of securing happiness to your country and tranquillity to Europe. Do not imagine that the people of England are disposed to revolt against the government—do not imagine that war is wished for in this country—on the contrary, we wish to live on good terms with France.\*

“ After the measures I had taken to obtain of Mr. Pitt a conference with M. Maret, I was much surprised that you should peremptorily refer Mr. Pitt to M. Chauvelin for explanations. M. Maret will explain to you many things which I cannot commit to paper.

“ I hope you will be persuaded, that during his absence I will not lose sight of the great object which interests me.—Health and Friendship.—Good night.

“ W. MILES.”

*To M. LE BRUN,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Paris.*

\* I speak generally of the whole country.

## APPENDIX, No. VI.

*To Mr. MILES.**“ Paris, Dec. 17, 1792.**“ DEAR FRIEND,*

*“ IT is through the intrigues of Edward Walkers, the Bruffells banker, that our executive power will require, as a preliminary step to any explanation whatever, that the Republic shall be acknowledged in the person of Mons. Chauvelin.*

*“ This gentleman was absolutely recalled on the return of Lord Gower. Mr. Noel was charged with the official letter to that purpose, and Mr. Renard\* was to have remained Chargé des Affaires.*

*“ Mr. Chauvelin, alarmed, entreated Noel not to deliver him the letter of recall, and entreated Le Brun to consider the consequences that might attend his abrupt departure—That the Court of London, in that case, would certainly demand an explanation, and a rupture between the two nations would ensue; that though he was not well with the English minister, yet he was perfectly so with Mr. Fox, and some other members of opposition; and would it be prudent in France to lose the fruit of*

\* The secretary of M. Chauvelin, M. Renard, is now at Hamburgh, as envoy, I believe, from the French Republic, and was very anxious that peace should be preserved.

*all his labours with these gentlemen, and their subsequent services, for a vain form of diplomatic etiquette?* —These, and some other reasons alledged at the time, induced Mr. Noel to enter into the views of Chauvelin, and even to enforce his arguments, and to recommend his remaining in England. In return for this frankness, Chauvelin endeavoured to fortify himself by his intrigues among us. Walckiers is his relation by marriage, and as this latter has the ear of Le Brun, and has been all the time at Paris, he has employed his credit with the minister for foreign affairs, and every engine he could put in motion, to have Chauvelin continued in his public character.

“ Among other things it was represented to Le Brun, by this party, that *it was incompatible with the dignity of the Republic to treat with the British minister in private, or by a secret agent; that nothing less than a public acknowledgment of the Republic should induce the French executive council to enter into any explanation with the British Court, and that it should be insisted upon, that as M. Chauvelin was on the spot, and had credentials, he should be formally invited by your Minister to appear at St. James's in his public character.* While this language was insisted upon by the friends of Chauvelin here, similar advice, I am told, was transmitted from your country, and hence the reason that Maret is prevented from acting, and that Le

Brun forbid him to enter into any detail with your minister.

Noel, I am afraid, will have cause to repent of his candor to Chauvelin. There is a combustion in the hive ; and Noel, who, I assure you, is a perfect honest man, very different to diplomatic men in general, and very anxious to prevent the war, has incurred much disgrace for endeavouring to undeceive Le Brun, with respect to the strength of opposition, and the internal state of your country ; (which latter was believed to be in a state of insurrection), until he wrote to the contrary, and on that account it is that the executive council has gone such lengths, and may still go greater.

It is proposed to send Noel \* to the Hague as Minister, and if this should take place, it is probable the storm raised against him, may blow over. You may be assured that Noel is very anxious for peace, so is Maret and Young Mourgue ; rely upon it, they will exert all their influence and credit to preserve it ; as far as they can consistent with what they owe to their own country.---Do not despair---and yet I must not bid you hope. Adieu, adieu,

“ Your Friend.”

\* \* \* \*

\* This gentleman is at the Hague, and I avail myself of this opportunity to do justice to the rectitude of his conduct in this country, as well as to his talents, and the philanthropy of his disposition.

APPEN-



## APPENDIX, No. VII.

*From Monf. MARET to Mr. MILES.*

*“ Paris, 5 Janvier l'an 2d de la Republique.*

“ VOUS avez écrit, mon cher Miles, à \*\*\* avec une fenfibilité un peu trop vive fur le premier rapport de le Brun. Je crois bien que fi j'étais arrivé avant qu'il fut fait, le Miniftre aurait confenti à quelques changemens affez effentiels--- Mais que voulez vous ? J'étais en route et l'opinion était abusé fous beaucoup de rapports. Depuis mon retour j'ai parlé hautement et franchement, mais j'ai trouvé des grands obftacles.——

Les insultes du Parlement Britannique ; l'orgueil national des François ; leur courage ; leur moyens ; l'imménfités des leurs refources ; voila des faits, voila des raifons, auxquels, l'enthoufiafme de la liberté et de la victoire donnent une energie qu'on ne peut ni modifier, ni refireindre. Si par impoffible, nos nations parvenaient à fe rapprocher et à s'entendre, le Brun verrait avec une grande joie l'occasion de communiquer et de travailler avec vous à cet ouvre falutaire et pacifique. Affuré-  
ment

ment votre gouvernement ne pourrait choisir personne dans aucun circonstance, avec qui Le Brun eut plus de plaisir à parler d'affaires.

“ Adieu, adieu.”

# TRANSLATION.

“ *Paris, Jan. 5, 2d Year of the Republic.*

“ YOU have written, my dear Miles, to \* \* \* with rather too much warmth on the subject of the first report of Le Brun. \* I have no doubt but many essential alterations would have been made in it, if I had happily arrived in time. But what would you have me do ? I was on the road, and the public opinion had been imposed upon in many instances. I have spoken with great frankness and boldness since my return, but I have found immense obstacles.—The insults of the British Parliament. †

“ The

\* To the Convention.

† Strong remonstrances were transmitted to me against the wild and flippant scurrilities of Mr. Burke and of Mr. Windham, the latter of whom gave extreme offence, by asserting, *that a Frenchman must change his nature, before he could speak truth.*\* A variety of letters that I received at that period resented this indecent outrage offered to an entire nation, nor was it considered as an extenuation of the offence, when I asserted that the government of the country, not the country itself, ought to be responsi-

\* In debate in the House of Commons, 1792.

“ The pride of the French nation, its courage, means, and immense resources ! Behold these facts ! Behold these reasons, to which the enthusiasm of liberty and of victory give an energy which cannot be modified nor restrained. If by great efforts the two nations could be made to understand each other, Le Brun will behold with great joy the opportunity it may give him to communicate and act with you in this salutary and pacific undertaking.

“ Your government certainly could not select a person at any time with whom Le Brun would have more pleasure to converse on public affairs.

“ Adieu, adieu.”

ble for the indiscretions of individuals ; nor did I fail to remind them that privilege of speech belonged to Parliament as a right, and that the Convention itself had not been deficient in exercising this right, in its turn, respecting this country, with an illiberality still more indecent, if possible, than that of the gentlemen above-mentioned.

## APPENDIX, No. VIII.

*Mr. MILES to M. MARET.**Ce 4 Janvier 1793.*

“ JE n'ai qu'un moment pour accuser la réception de votre lettre. Il faut que vous me dispensiez d'y répondre, jusqu'à ce que j'aie plus de tems. Quant au bill de Milord Grenville, les menées de vos compatriotes ici et en Irlande, & ces menées appuyées, pour ne pas dire autorisées par les decrets de la Convention, semblent avoir provoquée une mesure si dure, mais nécessaire. Si vous faites attention au bill, vous verrez que les negocians & les commerçans y sont exceptés.

“ J'ai le cœur navré de voir que tous mes efforts pour écarter la guerre, n'aboutissent à rien & ça à cause de l'opiniâtreté de Le Brun qui est assurément très mal instruit de la situation intérieure de ce pays. Dites à Monf. ——— qu'en conséquence de sa conduite à mon égard, relativement aux affaires publiques, toute liaison entre lui & moi doit se rompre. Vraiment je ne vois d'autres moyens d'éviter la guerre que par des déclarations très précises de la France sur ces conquêtes, sur l'Escaut, et sur la paix générale. Soyez Francs ; La France ne s'expliqueroit elle pas, si elle desiroit

de bonne foi conserver la paix ? Toute tracasserie m'afflige, tout va de travers, j'en suis désolé, et pense à renoncer à tout et à m'ensevelir à la campagne.

“ Ecrivez moi je vous prie un mot de réponse à cette lettre, et mandez moi, si vous voulez vous prêter à un accommodement.

“ Je vous souhaite le bon soir.

“ WM. MILES.”

à *Monf. Maret.*

#### TRANSLATION.

*Jan. 4, 1793.*

“ I HAVE but one moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. You must excuse my not answering it, until I have more time. As to Lord Grenville's Bill, the manœuvres of your countrymen here, and in Ireland, and these manœuvres supported, if not authorised by the decrees of the Convention, seem to have provoked a measure so harsh, but necessary. If you pay attention to the bill, you will see that merchants and people in trade are excepted.

“ My heart is torn to see all my endeavours to avoid war, come to nothing, and that  
through



through the obstinacy of Le Brun who is certainly very ill informed of the situation of this country. Tell Mr. \* \* \* that on account of his behaviour to me relative to public affairs, all communication between him and me must cease. In truth I see no other means of avoiding war but by explicit declarations on the part of France concerning her conquests, the Scheldt, and a general peace. Be sincere. Would not France declare her intentions openly, if she sincerely wished to preserve peace? Squabbles always afflict me. Every thing goes wrong. I am grieved and giving up all hopes of peace, mean to bury myself in the country.

“Write to me, I pray you, a few words in answer to this letter, and tell me if you will listen to terms of accommodation?”

“I wish you a good night,

“W. MILES.”

*M. Maret.*

## APPENDIX, No. IX.

*Cleveland-row, Londres,  
le 2 Janvier, 1793.*

“ VOUS exprimez toujours, Monsieur, dans vos differens rapports à la Convention, et dans les depêches qui me sont tombées sous les yeux le desir de conserver la paix entre l'Angleterre et la France. Mais comment se fier à des protestations d'amitié démenties par les faits ? Comment croire vos intentions pacifiques tandis que votre conduite est hostile ? Vivons nous dans un siècle où les enigmes sont en usage, on faut il pour vous comprendre lire à rebours ce que vous dites ?

“ Pendant quatre mois consecutifs vos emissaires secrets ont fait mille tentatives pour obtenir une entrevue avec M. Pitt, et dès qu'il s'y est prêté sa condescendance a été attribué non à la Franchise ; non à l'interêt qu'il est censé prendre à la prosperité de sa patrie ; non pas à une principe de bonne politique, fondé sur les bases de la probité et de l'humanité, mais à la foiblesse, ou à un motif encore moins excusable, qui ne lui seroit

3

jamais

jamais attribué que par des hommes sans vertu et qui étant depourvus de tout sentiment d'honneur, ne croient pas que des tels sentimens puissent exister chez les autres.

“ Selon eux; c'étoit à la crainte ou à la perfidie que Monf. Maret devoit son entrevue avec Mr. Pitt. Grand Dieu ! quelle crainte auroit-il pu avoir ? Une seule peut-être ! Le poignard d'un assassin ! Et qu'avoit-il à gagner par la perfidie envers une nation qui est dans ce moment non seulement sans pouvoir, sans credit, et sans une force suffisante pour attenter aucune enterprise étrangère, mais, selon toutes les apparences, sans les ressources militaires indispensables pour soutenir une guerre générale. Enfin, une nation que ses folies et ses crimes precipiteront tôt ou tard dans une abime dont elle ne sortira que par des moyens qui doivent vous faire trembler ! Le peu de credit que la Convention Nationale sembloit conserver après la triste journée du dix d'Aout (1792) auroit rendu toute explication sur les grands objets qui interressoient les deux nations, très imprudentes, très unutilés, et peut-être très dangereuses pour l'Angleterre. Menacé d'une armée qui étoit déjà sur vos frontières et toute la machine du gouvernement ainsi que tous les esprits desorganisés par les convulsions interieures, la crainte vous a fait tenir un langage peu veridique, et qui fut bientôt changé en un ton très déplacé,

en des termes que vous n'auriez pas du vous permettre, et que nous devions encore moins entendre.

C'est une triste vérité, Monsieur, que la prospérité éblouit et les nations et les hommes, et qu'il faut des malheurs très considérables quelquefois pour apprendre aux uns et aux autres la justice et la moderation ! la rapidité de vos conquêtes dans les Pays Bas Autrichiens, en Allemagne, et dans la Savoie, vous a fait perdre de vue ce que vous vous devez à vous mêmes et aux autres, et parceque vous réussites par l'audace de vos armes sur quelques gouvernemens naturellement foibles, et déjà infectés des vices contagieux du temps, vous croyez pouvoir dicter la loi à toute l'Europe, et la forcer d'adopter les mêmes principes d'anarchie dont vous avez été les victimes depuis le 14 Juillet 1789. Vraiment, Monsieur, je suis au desespoir de trouver un rapprochement si parfait entre la conduite de la France *libre*, et celle de la France *esclave*, comme si c'était sa triste destinée de gemir toujours sous un despotisme plus ou moins affreux. Mais pour revenir à notre sujet. Je vous ai tracé la route que vous avez à suivre, et si vous suivez mes conseils, le Cabinet Anglais ne s'avisera pas de vous declarer la guerre—mais soyez de bonne foi ; ne me trompez pas ; n'écoutez pas ces petits messieurs qui vous entourent,

et

et vous flattent, et qui aimeraient mieux jouer au plus fin, que de marcher droit ; rappelez vous toujours, que vous tenez entre vos mains par le hazard le plus extraordinaire et le plus bizarre la destinée pour ainsi dire de l'Europe entière, et qu'en vous écartant des principes que je vous ai tracé dans une lettre précédente, et que Maret vous a certainement repetés selon les instructions que je lui ai données, vous prononcerez un arrêt de mort contre des millions peut-être de vos semblables ! pouvez vous—osez vous y penser sans fremir ? La paix, je vous le repete, est facile à conserver, et la paix une fois assurée, voilà la pierre fondamentale posée de cette alliance entre nos deux pays ; alliance que j'ai tant désirée, et que pour l'obtenir je suis prêt de sacrifier ma vie. La Nation Anglaise est bien disposée vers la France, et comme la nation compte pour beaucoup dans ce pays-ci ; le gouvernement n'osera jamais marcher en sens contraire ; mais de votre côté il ne faut pas effaroucher ni fatiguer le peuple en decriant une Constitution à laquelle elle est attachée d'une manière que rien ne peut ébranler. Voilà cependant l'écueil sur lequel je crains que vous n'alliez échouer, et sans parler de l'indécence qu'il y auroit à vouloir s'immiscer dans les affaires interieures d'une autre nation, il faut convenir qu'une démarche si peu mesurée seroit aussi indécente, qu'injuste et dangereuse—le malheur est que vous semblez avoir



la manie de vous mêler de tout, et souvenez vous, mon ami, qu'en se mêlant de tout, on gâte tout.

Rappelez donc tous vos emissaires;—que la propagande finisse ! et ne cherchez plus à troubler la tranquillité publique dans ce pays.—Vos décrets du 19 Novembre et du 15 Decembre sont des menaces qu'aucun gouvernement ne peut entendre, sans prendre des précautions sur le champ pour sa propre sûreté, et vous devez sentir que tandis que des pareils décrets existeront, nous ne pouvons nous fier à vos assurances pacifiques, d'ailleurs quand vous parlez dans un sens contraire aux déclarations explicites de la Convention, vous ne pouvez être considéré que comme un particulier.—Au nom de Dieu, si vous voulez éviter un embrasement universel, ne vous mêlez pas de notre gouvernement ; si nous sommes moins libres que vous, même si nous étions dans l'esclavage le plus affreux, laissez nous nos fers, et puis qu'ils ne nous gênent pas, pourquoi vous inquietent-ils ?—Je m'etens d'autant plus sur cet article que je n'ignore pas les espérances mal-fondées que vous avez conçues d'une revolte générale, et pendant que vous encouragez de tels projets, il me sera impossible de vous aider, et même d'entretenir aucune correspondance ni avec vous, ni avec le conseil executif.—Vous me demandez si mi Lord Hawkesbury et Mr. Dundas ne sont pas pour la guerre.—Je ne les connois pas du tout, et j'ignore

nore absolument même leurs personnes et leurs sentimens.—Il ne m'est jamais arrivé d'avoir aucune relation avec ces deux messieurs, et je vous avoue franchement que leurs conseils aussi imprudent que ruineux dans la malheureuse guerre de l'Amerique, m'otent toute confiance et dans leur sagesse, et dans leurs principes.—Ecoutez moi encore une fois, et une fois pour tout, *ne rendez pas la guerre necessaire, ni comme mesure de precaution, ni par necessité, pour repousser une agression de votre part*, et vous ne l'aurez pas ; comptez la dessus, et je repondrai du reste. J'entrevois même des dispositions très favorables en faveur de la paix. Ne le forcez donc pas Mr. Pitt par votre imprudence à se declarer contre vous ; soyez sages, et vous rendrez la liberté aux Belges et aux Liegeois.—L'Empire et l'Empereur n'auront plus rien à dire, et un peuple loyal et brave sera affranchi d'un joug qui l'a trop long tems opprimé.

“ On n'est pas du tout éloigné d'un arrangement, que les circonstances imperieuses ont peut-être dicté beaucoup plus que la justice.—J'ai proposé cet arrangement, comme la seule condition sur laquelle vous consentirez à revenir sur l'affaire de l'Escaut, d'abandonner vos conquêtes, et d'accorder la paix à la Prusse et à l'Autriche.—C'est au pouvoir executif à decider.—Mais songez je vous en prie, que si on refuse à Paris de se prêter à

un arrangement si raisonable, une guerre affreuse s'ensuivra ; vous aurez à combattre toute l'Europe, et les deux nations pour lesquelles j'ai tant travaillé retomberont dans l'esclavage.—Vous êtes maître de leur destin.

“ W. MILES.”

*A Monsieur LE BRUN,  
Ministre pour les Affaires  
Etrangères à Paris.*

TRANSLATION.

*London, January 2, 1793.*

*To Mr. LE BRUN, Minister for Foreign Affairs at  
Paris.*

“ YOU always express, Sir, in your different reports to the Convention and in the dispatches which I have seen, the desire of preserving peace between England and France ; but what reliance can be had on protestations of friendship contradicted by facts ! How is it possible to believe your intentions pacific, while your conduct is hostile ? Do we live in an age when *enigmas* are in vogue, or is it necessary in order to comprehend your meaning to read what you write backwards ?

Your

“ Your secret emissaries have, during four successive months, made a thousand attempts to obtain an interview with Mr. Pitt, and he no sooner granted it, than his condescension was attributed, not to candor, nor to the interest which he is known to take in the prosperity of his country; not to a principle of sound policy founded on the basis of honesty and humanity; but to weakness, or a motive still more unpardonable, which could have been imputed to him only by men without virtue, and who being destitute of every sentiment of honor, cannot comprehend its existence in others. According to them it was to fear or perfidy that M. Maret was indebted for his interview with Mr. Pitt. Good God! what had he to fear? perhaps the dagger of an assassin! What had he to gain by perfidy towards a nation, which is *at this moment* not only without power, without credit or a force sufficient to form any foreign enterprise; but even, according to all appearances, without the military resources indispensably necessary to support a general war; a nation, in a word, which its follies and crimes must sooner or later plunge into an abyss, from which it can only recover by means which should make you tremble!

“ The little credit which the National Convention seemed to possess after the melancholy 10th of August, 1792, would have rendered at that time

every explanation, concerning the great objects which interested both nations, very imprudent, very useless, and perhaps very dangerous to England.

“ Threatened by an army already on your frontiers, the whole frame of your government as well as the minds of the people deranged by interior convulsions, fear made you use a language far from truth, which was soon changed into a very improper tone, and expressed in terms which you should not have indulged, much less should we have heard. It is a melancholy truth, Sir, that prosperity dazzles nations as well as individuals, and that great calamities are sometimes necessary to teach them justice and moderation.

“ The rapidity of your conquests in the Austrian Netherlands, in Germany and Savoy, made you lose sight of what you owed to yourselves and to others, and because you succeeded by the intrepidity of your arms against some governments naturally weak and already infected by the contagion of the times, you thought you could dictate laws to all Europe, and force it to adopt the same principles of anarchy, of which you have been the victims since the 14th of July, 1789.

“ I am



“ I am sincerely grieved, Sir, to find so perfect a similarity between the conduct of France become free, and that of France in slavery, as if its unhappy destiny was always to groan under a more or less horrible despotism !

“ But to return to our subject, I have drawn the line which you are to follow ; and if you take my advice the British Cabinet will not venture to declare war against you ; but be sincere, and do not deceive yourself or me ; pay no attention to those little gentlemen who surround and flatter you, and who prefer low cunning to an open and upright conduct.

“ Consider, that by a very singular and a very extraordinary chance, you hold in some measure, the destiny of Europe ; that in departing from the principles which I laid down for you in a former letter, and which Maret undoubtedly repeated to you according to my request, you will pronounce a sentence of death, perhaps, against millions ! Can you, Sir ; nay, dare you, Sir, reflect on it without shuddering ? Peace, I repeat it to you, is easily preserved, and peace once secured, the foundation is laid for an alliance between our two countries— an alliance I so ardently wish for, that to obtain it I would readily sacrifice my life. The English nation is well-disposed in favor of the French, and as

in this country the will of the people is of great weight, government will never venture to steer in an opposite course ; but on your part you must neither alarm nor insult the people by crying down the constitution for which their attachment is inviolable. This, however, is the rock on which I fear you may split ; and not to mention the indecency of meddling in the interior concerns of another nation, you must acknowledge that such an inconsiderate measure would be as unjust as dangerous. The misfortune is, that you seem to be possessed with the mischievous madness of meddling with every thing. Remember, my friend, that by meddling with every thing you may spoil every thing.

“ Recall all your emissaries, put an end to your *propaganda*, and no longer strive to disturb the public tranquillity in this country. Your decrees of the 19th of November \* and 15th of December are menaces which no government can hear without taking measures of precaution immediately for its own safety ; and you must feel that while such decrees exist, we

\* I had reason to believe that these decrees were levelled at this country, in consequence of the delusion which prevailed in France, that we were on the eve of an insurrection in England, and that the promise of support would instantly produce an explosion.

cannot rely on your pacific assurances : besides, when *you* express sentiments directly contrary to the explicit declarations of the *Convention*, you can only be considered as a private individual. In the name of God, if you wish to avoid an universal conflagration,—do not meddle with our government. If we are less free than you, if we were even in the most abject state of slavery, let us and our chains alone, and as you do not feel them, why trouble yourselves about them ? I dwell the more willingly on this article, as I am no stranger to the groundless hopes you have conceived of a general revolt, and while you encourage such schemes, it will be impossible for me to assist you, nor even to hold any correspondence with you or the Executive Council.

“ You ask me if Lord Hawkesbury \* and Mr. Dundas are not for war. I am totally unacquainted with both ; I know neither their persons nor their sentiments. I never had the least connexion with those gentlemen, and I frankly acknowledge to you that their pernicious counsels, in the American war,

\* I do not know from what source M. Le Brun derived his information ; but it was the opinion of others, as well as his own, that both these gentlemen were eager for war ; and whenever this language was held to me, my invariable answer was, “ *If so, why give them, by your conduct, an advantage over you, and favour their views ?*

inspire

inspire me with no sort of confidence either in their wisdom or their principles.

Hear me once more, and once for all, I conjure you ! *Do not render the war necessary either as a measure of precaution, or as a measure of necessity, to repel an aggression on your part, and you will avoid it.* Be assured of it—be prudent, and I will answer for the rest. I even perceive a strong disposition to preserve peace. Therefore do not force Mr. Pitt by your imprudence to declare against you. Be wise, and you will restore liberty to Liege and Brabant. The Empire and the Emperor will have nothing to say, and a brave and loyal people will be freed from a yoke which has too long oppressed them. This country would not be averse to an arrangement dictated more by imperious circumstances than by justice.

“ I have proposed this arrangement as the only condition on which you would agree to give up the Scheld, renounce your conquests, and grant peace to Prussia and Austria.

“ It is for the executive power to decide ; but reflect, I pray you, that if you decline an arrangement so reasonable, a calamitous war will be the consequence ; you will have all Europe to combat

bat, and the two nations for whose freedom I have toiled so much will relapse again into slavery. Their fate is in your hands.\*

“ Farewell,

“ I have written to you by Noel.

“ W. MILES.”

\* There are two or three letters in this publication, from which I have withheld the names of those who writ them, for reasons which cannot well be explained; and especially as the writers of them are in existence, and in their own country.



## APPENDIX, No. X.

*A Londres le 11 Janvier, 1793.*

“ La dépêche envoyée par Monsieur Chauvelin, Lundi, 31 Decembre, vous est certainement parvenue, cependant vous ne m'en accusez pas la reception.

“ Vous me parlez de l'ardeur du Peuple Française, & de ses ressources immenses ; hélas ! mon cher Maret, il n'est plus question ni de l'une ni de l'autre.

“ Après les griefs détaillés dans la réponse de Milord Grenville à la note de M. Chauvelin, quel autre parti y a-t-il à prendre pour la France que de reculer ou de se battre. Je n'en connois aucun. Vous me direz, peut-être, que ce qu'on a exigé est trop humiliant ; mais non cher ami, il n'est pas question d'orgueil, mais de justice. Je vous ai prié de faire sentir à Le Brun combien il seroit plus glorieux à la France de consentir à une paix générale, après avoir affranchi les Pays Bas & le pays de Liège, que de continuer une guerre, dont on ne peut entrevoir les suites, &

qui exposera la liberté nouvellement acquise par les Liégeois & les Belges, ainsi que le nouvel ordre des choses en France. Le pouvoir exécutif aura la gloire d'avoir affermi la Révolution Française & le loisir de rétablir les finances délabrées, de remonter la machine du gouvernement & de faire renaitre un commerce presque anéanti ; la tranquillité publique sera assurée par la paix, ainsi que la fortune & la gloire de ceux qui tiennent actuellement le destin de la France en leurs mains, & pour prix de tout cela ? Rien qui ne soit dicté par la justice !

“ Si l'Assemblée Nationale dans un moment d'ivresse fait des bévues ou des injustices, il convient qu'elle corrige les uns & répare les autres. Permettez que je vous répète ce que vous avez déjà lu dans la réponse de Milord Grenville ; que les ordres donnés à vos officiers généraux de poursuivre l'ennemie sur les terres neutres est une atteinte contre l'indépendance des puissances qui ne sont point en guerre avec vous.

“ L'arrêté du conseil sur l'ouverture de l'Escaut, est une infraction des traités.

“ L'appropriation de la Savoie est contre vos propres principes, vous avez renoncé à toutes conquêtes, & vous en faites ! Comment se fier à une nation qui ne respecte ni ses traités ni ses

sermens ? Le décret du 19 Novembre ainsi que celui du 15 Decembre étant conçus en termes généraux & invitant, pour ainsi dire, les peuples de tous les pays à se revolter contre leurs gouvernemens respectifs, en leur promettant du secours, sont des griefs trop évidentes, & trop sérieux pour ne pas indigner le gouvernement Britannique, & justifier ses craintes, surtout après que l'Assemblée Nationale a accueilli, avec un empressement aussi peu décent que peu politique, les adresses de quelques clubs factieux en Angleterre, qui ne dissimulaient pas leurs intentions de tout bouleverser. Voilà donc, mon cher Maret, où nous en sommes ! Si vous pouvez engager le conseil exécutif à revenir sur ses pas, relativement aux articles ci-dessus, la guerre n'aura point lieu ; il faut convenir que l'Angleterre ne peut que se sentir comprise dans les décrets qui offrent ce que vous appelez fraternité à tous les peuples du monde ; il est évident aussi que notre existence politique ne permettra nullement que la France s'aggrandisse, & vous ne pouvez nier que le traité de 1788 nous oblige à garantir la fermeture de l'Escaut, & que vous y êtes tenu par le traité de 1786. Il est aussi vrai que pendant qu'un traité existe on doit le respecter.

Répondez le plutôt possible à ma lettre, je vous en supplie, & de vive voix, si vous le voulez, ce qui me plaira infiniment ; ne craignez rien

rien de la nouvelle loi ; je puis vous assurer que les étrangères peuvent voyager aussi librement en Angleterre à présent qu'autrefois. Mais point d'intrigues ; point de commerce avec des factieux qui puisse compromettre la tranquillité publique. Je vous crois trop honnête pour vous en mêler ; d'ailleurs j'espère que vous serez chargé d'une branche d'olivier, & en ce cas vous serez reçu à bras ouverts. Venez donc sans crainte ; descendez chez moi & considérez ma maison comme la votre. Adieu.

“ MILES.”

*A M. Maret, Chef du Département pour les Affaires Etrangères, à Paris.*

#### TRANSLATION.

*London, Jan. 11, 1793.*

“ THE dispatch sent off by M. Chauvelin, on Monday, 31st of December, must certainly have reached you ; but you have not acknowledged its arrival. You tell me of the ardour of the French, and of their immense resources. Alas ! my dear Maret, it is no longer a question of either. After the grievances which are explained in Lord Grenville's answer to M. Chauvelin's note,

note, what other alternative has France but to retract or to fight? I know of none. You will perhaps tell me, that what has been required is too humiliating; but excuse me, my dear friend, it is not *pride* but justice that you must consult.

“ I begged you to observe to Le Brun, how much more glorious it would be to France to consent to a general peace, after having given freedom to the Low Countries, and to Liege, than to continue a war, of which it is impossible to foresee the consequences, and which will endanger the newly acquired liberties of Belgia and Liege, as well as the new order of things in France. The executive power will have the merit of strengthening the French Revolution, and leisure to re-establish the finances, to wind up the machinery of government, and to re-establish commerce, which is almost annihilated. The public tranquillity will be ensured by peace, as well as the fortune and fame of those who are entrusted with the destiny of France; and nothing is required for this but what justice dictates. If the National Assembly, in a moment of intoxication, commits injuries or blunders, it is but fair she should repair the one and correct the other. Allow me to repeat to you what you have already perused in Lord Grenville's answer: that the orders given to your general officers to pursue the enemy on neutral ground, is an attack



tack on the independence of those powers with whom you are not at war.

“ The decree of the Council on the opening of the Scheldt, is an infringement of treaty.

“ The appropriation of Savoy is contrary to your own principles. You have renounced all conquests, and you make them. What confidence can be placed in a nation, who neither respects treaties nor oaths?

“ The decree of the 19th of November, and that of the 15th of December, being conceived in general terms, and inviting, in a manner, every nation in the world to revolt, with a promise of support, are grievances too serious not to enrage the British Government, and justify its fears. Above all, when the Conventional Assembly has received, with an avidity as indecent as it was impolitic, the address of some factious clubs in England, who do not conceal their intention of overturning every thing. Here then, my dear Maret, the matter rests :—if you can engage the Executive Council to retract, as far as relates to the above articles, the war cannot take place. You must allow that England cannot but consider itself included in the decree which offers what you call fraternity to all the people in the world. It is also very evident that our political existence will  
by

by no means allow of France being aggrandized, and you cannot deny that the treaty of 1788 obliges us to secure the Scheldt, and that you are bound to this by the treaty of 1786. It is equally true, that as long as a treaty exists, it ought to be respected.

“ Answer my letter, I beseech you, as soon as possible ; and if in person it will please me the more. Fear nothing from the new law. I can venture to assure you that strangers may travel as freely in England as formerly ; but no intrigues, no connection with those who may wish to destroy the public tranquillity. I believe you to be too honest a man to interfere in such business ; besides, I indulge the hope of seeing you with an olive branch, and in this case you will be received with open arms. Come then without fear, and consider my house as your own. Adieu.

“ WM. MILES.”

*To M. Maret, Chief of the  
Department of Foreign  
Affairs, at Paris.*

## APPENDIX, No. XI.

18 Jan. 1793.

“ A MONSIEUR LE BRUN,

“ UN événement m'est arrivé qui m'ôte à jamais la douce espérance d'être utile à la chose publique, j'aurais voulu écarter la guerre, ce terrible fléau du genre humain, mais enflé d'un orgueil très déplacé vous n'écoutez ni la prudence ni la justice. Je me trouve tracassé, & estropié de tout côté & de toute manière. Je n'en puis plus, il y a bien des années que vous connoissez mes principes ;—mes marches ont été dicté jusqu'à présent par l'amour de la vérité et de la liberté ; non pas d'une liberté effrénée et sans bornes comme la vôtre, mais d'une liberté bien entendue, bien raisonnée, et qui rend le monde un paradis terrestre ; —mais que faire ? L'enthousiasme vous aveugle, et vous ne voyez plus ni la justice, ni la prudence. Quand il étoit question du traité de commerce, j'exprimai mes vœux dans une lettre adressée à Mr. Pitt que ce traité puisse devenir la base d'une alliance entre les deux nations qui assureroit à l'Europe & au monde entier, la douce jouissance d'une paix éternelle. Mais au lieu de la paix, c'est la guerre

P

que

que je vois prêt à s'éclater & engloutir les deux nations. Le Brun ;—vous allez vous charger d'une terrible responsabilité ! Songez y bien, il est encore tems ; vous pouvez tout reparer, j'ai le cœur gros, & obsédé par des idées tristes & lugubres, la vie commence à me pèser furieusement.

“ Adieu,

“ W. MILES.”

This letter finishes my correspondence with Le Brun, and was sent by a courier dispatched from Portman Square.

#### TRANSLATION.

“ AN event has lately happened which deprives me of the pleasing hope of being useful to the cause of humanity. I wish to prevent the war, that dreadful scourge to human nature ; but an ill-fated vanity prevents your attending either to prudence or to justice. I find myself thwarted and harassed on all sides. I am tired. You have long known my principles, and my conduct has ever been dictated by the love of truth and liberty : not by such an extravagant and boundless liberty as your's, but by a liberty well understood and well conducted, and which makes this  
world

world a terrestrial paradise. What is to be done ? Enthusiasm blinds you, and you are equally insensible to prudence and to justice. \*

“ When

\* Assurances that I received at this time from Paris, convinced me that the great object of the executive council was to throw this country into insurrection, and that the explosion was expected to happen first in Ireland. The projected invasion of Holland, preceded by the opening of the Scheldt; as a preparatory step to the fall of Amsterdam, were measures that would not have been attempted, but for the firm persuasion that the people in England were on the eve of revolt, and a revolution would inevitably happen the very instant, if not sooner, that war was declared. The entire conduct of the Convention, and of its executive council, the efforts of private individuals, all tended to this solitary but important object.—An insurrection in England was fully believed would happen, and it was under this delusion that the decree promising fraternity, and ordering the French generals to give assistance to all nations disposed to revolt, was passed.—The writings of Condorcet were addressed to the Dutch, to the English, and the Spaniards, in separate pamphlets, and recommended them respectively the example of France, the President of the National Convention (Gregoire I believe it was) in answer to an address taken over from this country, assured the bearers of it, that “ *The moment, without doubt, approaches in which the French will bring congratulations to the National Convention of Great Britain.*” This was on the twenty-eighth of November 1792, and the very date, as well as the language of this answer proves, that the French considered a revolution in England as certain. The address from this country deserves neither reproof nor notice. But the attention paid to it by the French legislature deserves both, and proves the duplicity of a government that was endeavouring to accom-



“ When the Commercial Treaty was in agitation, I expressed my wish in a letter to Mr. Pitt, that it might become the basis of an alliance between

plish our destruction by the foulest means, at the instant it was expressing a desire to live in peace with us; their object was not hostility at the moment, because they counted upon a civil war which would answer their purpose most completely, and secure them from the risk and expence of an open rupture.—The inflammatory harangue of Mons. Gregoire was followed by still more inflammatory decrees, evidently levelled at this country (the decree of the 19th of November and 15th of December) in order to stimulate the disaffected to declare themselves, and to tell them who their *allies* would be. On the 10th of January following Mons. Brissot announced publicly that France must declare war.—Mr. Paine had previously declared that she would not be safe until she was surrounded by revolutions; and conformable to this principle, Mons. Brissot reported as follows to the National Convention; and when it was imagined in France that the people were sufficiently inflamed and ripe for revolt in England, Mons. Le Brun went to the National Convention with the declaration of war, that was to give *full effect* to all that had been transacting for months, and without which it was thought the insurrection would not happen.

“ Il importe que la nation Anglaise, qui n'est qu'égarée par son gouvernement soit promptement désabusée. C'est par respect pour LA FRATERNITE, QUI NOUS UNIT, que nous devons lui peindre avec franchise, les manœuvres de son gouvernement.”

“ It is necessary that the English nation, which is only misled by its government, should be instantly undeceived. The respect which is due to the FRATERNITY THAT UNITES US requires

tween the two nations, that had it in their power to ensure an eternal peace to Europe and the world. But instead of peace, I see a war on the point of being

requires that we should frankly disclose to it the manœuvres of its government."

*Brissot's Report to the National Convention, Jan. 12, 1793.*

This note brings a series of very important events into a very small compass, and these events prove that the intentions of France were evidently hostile, and a hostility of the very worst kind; for it was meant to make us war on each other in the first instance, and in the second with her.

These manœuvres shew the necessity of keeping the people in good humour with its government. The doctrines of revolt became articles of faith in Brabant and in Holland, because the Dutch and Flemings were dissatisfied with their respective governments.—The people in this country are certainly secure from any act of despotism in the crown; but they are not sufficiently secure from the arbitrary exactions, and fraudulent practices of commercial enterprise. A monopoly of corn almost excited an insurrection throughout the country last year; an infamous combination between graziers and foresters may possibly endanger the public tranquillity, by placing animal food beyond the reach of the artisan, as well as of the day labourer, and by rendering beef and mutton articles of luxury even to the middle ranks.—An advance of twopence a pound in two years on butcher's meat, is an alarming increase, and would make Ministers tremble if they looked forward to the consequences. Men in high official situations, who have a monopoly of lucrative places, some of them sinecures, and those that are not, most liberally appointed, do not feel this pressure, and may perhaps attribute these remarks to disaffection, but it is to prevent

being declared which will swallow up both nations. Le Brun! you will become respon-

vent disaffection that they are made; and it is even more their interest, than it is their duty to attend to them.

Some of the newspapers, who are known to sell themselves to any bidder, and for any purpose, were abandoned enough last harvest to say it was very deficient, and to maintain that there was a scarcity of corn in the country. The contrary is known to be the fact, and it is a fact of that nature of which no minister can plead ignorance, without acknowledging he either wants capacity or vigilance. An infamous combination is again in force to advance the price of bread; and it is not the poor and pitiful expedient of renouncing penny tarts and cheefecakes; that will satisfy mens' minds if government allows to the worst and most inhuman of all extortions the full career which the turpitude of avarice would give it.

The necessaries of life are at a price that can with difficulty be paid by those who are in middling circumstances, and it is wisdom, as well as justice, to keep this description of people in good humour. Oppressed by these combinations, which take from them the immediate necessaries of life, they find these oppressions aggravated by the painful operation of taxes, the disasters of war, and the proud display of unfeeling, incorrigible profligacy, that insults the distresses of the country, while it is fed, cloathed, and supported by its bounty! All these tend most powerfully to anger men's minds, even of those whose loyalty is the purest, and cannot be questioned; and it does more; a conduct so indiscreet, not to say atrocious, has made it a question even among the most temperate men in the kingdom, whether royalty, thus dishonoured, can be worthy of a throne; while the people, with one accord, execrate the intuated object, self-banished from the metropolis, whose guilt and depravity were alone necessary to complete the full measure of national calamity.

sible for all its horrors ! reflect upon it, I beseech you ; it is yet time, you can yet repair all. My heart is full, and oppressed by dark and melancholy ideas. Life begins to be burthensome.

“ Adieu,

“ W. MILES.”

*Cleveland Row, Jan. 18, 1793.*

*To M. Le BRUN,  
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,  
at Paris.*

## APPENDIX, No. XII.

*London, Feb. 4, 1796.*

“I HAVE received your different letters as far as No. 8, and while I acknowledge your personal kindness, lament that you should feel so inveterate a prejudice against the British government, and attribute to the intrigues of the English cabinet the war in which you are engaged. It is incumbent on me to undeceive you in another very important matter.

“I have perceived, in the three last letters that you have sent me, a conviction on your part that I have spoken to you on the subject of peace *at second hand*, and that I am merely an instrument of the Minister to sound the intentions of the French Convention. I confess to you very candidly, that on an occasion so glorious as well as consolatory, I would have no objection to be the instrument of men in office. Peace is an object so estimable in my opinion, that I would make every sacrifice that a man of honour can make to obtain it. An

\* The confidential situation which this person has held during the whole of the terrible tempests which have raged in his country since the war, is one of my motives for not publishing his name. The whole of his correspondence with me does equal honour to his head and heart; and his conduct has been in unison with his professions.

agency



agency, therefore, of that description, I would neither refuse nor deny. It is, however, a justice that is due to your country and to mine, as well as to those who are entrusted with the public administration of affairs in England, to declare that they are totally ignorant of this correspondence, and that I do not even wish they should be informed of my efforts—for I seek no reward for acting right.

“The suggestions that I have occasionally communicated to you, are certainly my own, and conscious of the purity of my motives, I have ventured to transmit them, notwithstanding the correspondence, and the matter on which we have corresponded, would probably give offence, if my letters were to be intercepted, and should fall under the inspection of your Ministers.

“I am averse to war, from a conviction that wars engender and multiply crimes. The shedding of any blood is a matter that always gives me infinite pain, and never fails to plunge me into a variety of abstract metaphysical speculations that damp the enjoyments of life, and make me wish I had never been, rather than that I am.—Any animal in pain afflicts me, and the affliction is consequently the greater in proportion as the connection with that animal is nearer to me. I never behold a flock of sheep, driven to slaughter,

ter, but a million of sorrowful reflections occur to my pensive, and too inquisitive mind.—To behold the hapless victim under the gripe of his assassin, bound, bleeding, and expiring, unlamented in the presence of an unfeeling crowd, plunges me into grief, and wrings my very soul.

“ Such are the sentiments which I have professed from my very infancy, and with such sentiments it is not extraordinary that I should have expressed myself with so much horror and indignation at the execrable murders which have been committed in France, and that I have declaimed against with all the vehemence that belongs to a mind naturally ardent, against the herd of assassins that have ruined your country for half a century, and dishonoured it for ever !

“ I know that many of those who have fallen, had rendered themselves obnoxious as well as dangerous, and that the crimes which have marked France for these four years, are easier accounted for, than justified : but vice in any form, under any pretext, and from any quarter, vexes me ; and I am apt to be warm when I feel that I am right.

I have touched upon two points, which it was incumbent on me to be explicit upon, lest you should attribute my pacific disposition to Ministers,

slers, with whose disposition I am, at present, entirely unacquainted, and without whose privity I have written to you with so much solicitude in order to stop, if possible, the effusion of blood.

“ By the second you will perceive my motives for the intemperance with which I have spoken of Le Brun and others, whose irregular ambition or vengeance have deluged an immense tract of country with blood.—Do not suppose, however, that I am partial to the vices of other nations; and severe only to those of France. The book I gave you, entitled “ *Reflections on public Men and public Measures,*” \* should convince you how very independent I am in my mind, and that writing from conviction, I respect nothing but the truth.

“ Your letters of late have not contributed to exalt my spirits, or enabled me to look forward with either hope or confidence to a speedy issue to this fierce, relentless war, which you say must be a war of death. The hope of peace then is banished, every such hope would now be visionary! All correspondence therefore, on a subject which I have had so much at heart, is at an end.--I shall

\* Written at Aschaffenburg, while on a visit to the Elector of Mayence, in October 1789, and published by John Stockdale, Piccadilly; in which an alliance with France was strongly recommended at that time, and the independence of the Low Countries.

of course close it. The humble rank which I hold in my country, will not allow my voice to be heard, and the absolute impossibility of being ever able to accomplish my object, is a discouraging reflection that reduces me to silence, and almost to despair.

All that I request of you is,\* that if you should survive the tempest, you will do justice to my sentiments, and bear testimony to my unremitting, but unsuccessful efforts, to prevent the war that has unhappily ensued between our respective countries.

“ Adieu,

“ W. MILES.”

\* In one of the last letters which I received from this invaluable correspondent, was the following extract, and subsequent events have abundantly proved that he reasoned like an able statesman, who had clear and distinct ideas of things, and who was well acquainted with the force and resources of his country ; “ *Non Monsieur, on ne calcule pas assez (the coalesced powers) ce que peuvent des millions d'hommes armés, dont le courage est échauffé par un enthousiasme qui double la force et centuple les bras ; on peut vaincre la France, mais on ne peut la subjuguier.*” “ No, Sir! The coalesced powers have not sufficiently reflected on what millions of armed men can accomplish, whose courage, fired by enthusiasm, doubles the force and multiplies each arm a hundred fold. They may conquer France, but they cannot subjugate her.”

APPEN-

## APPENDIX, No. XIII.

*Cleveland-row, Feb. 11, 1793.*

“ SIR,

“ AS the dye is cast, and the French, no longer able to impose on the good sense of the nation, have declared that hostility against our country which they have long premeditated, but which they meant should be a contingent event, and to follow those internal commotions which they expected to excite in different parts of the kingdom; I have taken the liberty of suggesting to you the propriety of a subscription for the purpose of affording a relief to the widows and orphans of seamen and soldiers who may fall in the defence of their country. Such a measure may operate as a stimulus to the former, and render the dangerous expedient of press-warrants unnecessary. It may also counteract the arts of the enemy, who will practise every possible method to seduce our seamen into their service. Should this idea be adopted, I have no doubt, from the loyalty of the times, but it will produce a fund adequate to a very comfortable provision for those who may become objects of the intended charity.

“ Should



“ Should you coincide with me in opinion,  
I shall beg leave to subscribe twenty guineas.”

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ W. MILES.”

*To William Devaynes, Esq. &c. &c.*

*Dover-street,*

## APPENDIX, XIV.

*Fragment d'un Lettre à Mr. MILES, sur la conduite du Clergé.*

*Paris, le 20 d'Aout, 1791.*

———— “ BIEN des gens prétendent que le vrai motif de la résistance du clergé, sur tout du haut clergé, à l'établissement du nouveau code ecclesiastique a été la conservation de ses privileges, des ses richesses et de son influence politique, mais pour peu qu'on ait de charité chrétienne on n'admettra pas une imputation si injurieuse à un corps aussi *vertueux* et aussi *éclairé* que le clergé de France ! Est il juste en effet de lui attribuer des motifs qu'il n'a jamais avoués, tandis que ses véritables raisons sont si bien développées non seulement dans les discours éloquents de l'Abbé Maury, mais encore dans les mandemens de plusieurs eveques sur tout dans celui du pieux évêque du Boulogne qui a été répandu dans toutes les provinces avec le zèle et la profusion que méritoit une cause si sainte ? Comme vous n'êtes peut-être pas à porter de vous procurer ses differents ouvrages, j'i tâcherai de vous donner une idée succincte et de leurs arguments victorieux contre le nouvel ordre  
qu'on

qu'on vouloit introduire. Par cet ordre les habitants des paroisses devoient choisir leur curés ; comme si c'étoit aux brebis à choisir le berger qui doit les conduire, les nourrir, les tondre et les engraisser pour la table de son maître ; comme si *des simples fideles* étoient capables de juger des mœurs, de la vertu et des talents de leur pasture ; et comme si les évêques seuls n'étoient pas compétents pour juger si la doctrine d'un homme étoit orthodoxe ou non. Voilà le premier point auquel ils ont un raison de s'opposer.

“ 2d. Le Conseil de l'Evêque devoit être composé de prêtres à l'avis desquels il devoit se conformer dans l'administration de son diocèse. C'étoit évidemment mettre l'Evêque *audeffous* des prêtres, contre la décision du concile du Trente, qui a déclaré comme article de foi que les évêques sont *audeffus* des prêtres, et a prononcé *anathema* contre Calvin et ses sectateurs qui soutenoient le contraire. Vous voyez bien qu'en *conscience* on ne pouvoit pas se soumettre à un règlement aussi contraire à la foi qui celui là.

Un troisième arrangement au quel ils pouvoient encore moins se soumettre qu'aux deux précédents ; c'est, que les prétendus philosophes composant l'Assemblée Nationale sous prétexte de mettre plus d'uniformité et de simplicité dans le gouvernement et de faire marcher ensemble et d'accord

l'administration civile et ecclesiastique avoient pris sur eux, sans le consentement du Pape, de réduire le nombre des évêchés et de donner aux nouveaux diocèses les mêmes limites qu'aux départements. Tout *bon chatelain soumis à l'Égise* conviendra que c'étoit là un attentat criminel contre l'autorité spirituelle, qui doit être à légard de l'autorité temporelle ce que l'ame est au corps ; c'est à dire, que comme le corps doit toujours être soumis à l'esprit dont il doit recevoir la loi, de même l'autorité temporelle doit être gouvernée par le pouvoir spirituel venger du ciel exprès pour cela. Pour s'opposer comme ils le devoient à cette innovation, nos vertueux prélats ont dit aux peuple, que l'Evêque ou le curé qui sorteroit des bornes fixées par le pape à leurs diocèses ou de leurs paroisses pour exercer leurs fonctions ailleurs, étoient des *intrus*, des *usurpateurs*, des *schismatique*, que les mariages qu'ils béniroient seroient des concubinages, que leurs sacrements seroient des sacrilèges, que les baptêmes qu'ils administrent seroient des *pactes avec le diable*, que leur extreme onction seroit un passeport pour aller en enfer ; que ceux qui entendraient leurs messes seroient damnés, que ceux qui iroient leur confesser leurs péchés seroient un plus grand péché que tous ceux dont ils pouvoient d'ailleurs être coupables ; en un mot que tous ceux qui communiqueroient avec eux étoient excommuniés, chassés de l'église et perdus dans ce monde et dans l'autre. Des arguments de cette force ne pou-

voient manquer de produire de bons effets et dans la Vendée et ailleurs ; malheureusement pour la cause du throne et de l'autel il s'est trouvé quelques membres, sur tout du *bas* clergé qui se sont crus en droit d'avoir une opinion à eux en matière de religion et qui n'ont pas réglé leurs consciences d'après celles des évêques, leurs guides légitimes. Sans la défection de ces malheureux apostats, l'insurrection eut été générale, et l'église se seroit maintenue dans toute sa splendeur !

#### TRANSLATION.

*A Fragment of a Letter to Mr. MILES, on the Conduct of the French Clergy.*

*Paris, August 20, 1792.*

——“ MANY people pretend that the *real* motive of the resistance of the clergy, and particularly of the dignified clergy, to the establishment of a new ecclesiastical code, was the preservation of their privileges, of their riches, and of their political influence ; but those who possess Christian charity will not admit of an imputation so injurious to a body of men so respectable and enlightened as the French clergy. Is it in fact just to attribute to them motives that they have never acknowledged, while their true reasons have been so clearly



clearly explained, not only in the eloquent discourses of the Abbé Maury, but also in the mandates of many Bishops, and particularly in one of the pious Bishop of Boulogne, which was circulated throughout all the provinces with that zeal and profusion so holy a cause deserved. As you, perhaps, may not have it in your power to procure the above mentioned works, I will endeavour to give you a concise idea of the unanswerable arguments they contain against the new order that they wished to introduce. By this order the parishioners were to chuse their curate, as if the sheep were to chuse the shepherd, whose duty it is to guide, feed, tender, and fatten them for the table of his master. As if the *pious brethren* were capable of judging of the morals, the virtue, and the talents of their pastor, and as if the Bishops alone were not competent to judge if the doctrine was orthodox or not ; this is the first point they had a right to oppose themselves to.

“ 2d. The council of the Bishop ought to be composed of priests, to whose opinions he ought to conform in the administration of his diocese ; this was evidently placing the Bishop *below* the Priests against the decision of the Council of Trent, which declares as an article of faith, that the Bishops are *higher* than the Priests, and which has pronounced an *anathema* against Calvin and his sect, for supporting a contrary opinion. You will allow that they

could not in *conscience* submit to a rule so contrary to the *true* faith.

“ A third arrangement to which they could still less conform than to the two preceding, is that the pretended philosophers who compose the National Assembly, under pretence of putting more uniformity and simplicity in the government, and in order to unite the civil and ecclesiastical administration have taken it upon themselves without the consent of the Pope, to reduce the number of bishoprics, and to ascertain the limits to the different dioceses, as they have done to the departments. All good Christians, obedient to the church will acknowledge, that this was a criminal attack against spiritual authority, which compared to temporal authority, ought to be considered in the same light as the soul is to the body, that is to say, that as the body must always submit to the mind from which it receives the law, so ought the temporal authority to be governed by the spiritual power which is expressly received from heaven for that purpose. To oppose themselves as they ought against this innovation our virtuous prelates declared to the people, that the Bishop or the Curate who would go out of those bounds fixed to their diocese or their parish by the Pope, to exercise their functions elsewhere, were intruders, usurpers, schismatics, that the marriages they performed would only be fornications, that their sacraments

would

would be sacrileges, that the baptisms they administered would only be a compact with the devil, that their extreme unction would be a passport to hell, that those who heard their mass would be damned, that those who confessed their sins to them would commit a greater sin than any they could possibly be guilty of. In a word, that those who had any communication with them would be excommunicated, driven from the church, and lost in this world and in the next. Such arguments as these could not fail of being attended with success in La Vendée and elsewhere. Unfortunately for the cause of the throne and the altar, some members, and particularly of the *low* clergy, have created for themselves the right of having an opinion of their own in matters of religion, without regulating their consciences by those of their Bishops, who are their lawful directors. Had it not been for the *disaffection* of these unfortunate apostates, the insurrection would have been general, and the church would have preserved all its splendor."

## APPENDIX, No. XV.

I CANNOT, without better evidence of the fact, believe that Mr. Pitt is an enemy to the constitution ; the two bills brought into Parliament, which have given such general offence, and on which his adversaries have been enabled to take strong ground, are certainly an infraction of the constitution, which the motive and the occasion could alone justify. If the offensive measure had been to answer any other purpose than that of the moment, merely as an expedient in the hour of very imminent danger as it was imagined, in order to avert a great and serious calamity, the Minister who proposed it would have deserved to have been conducted from the House of Commons to Tower-hill, and left shorter by the head for his presumption. This is the only plea upon which the law in question can be defended ; I am persuaded that it is the only plea Mr. Pitt would urge in his defence, were he put upon his trial ; and I am satisfied, that acting as he did, under the impression of the moment, that the well-informed and most temperate of the London Corresponding Society would absolve him from any criminal design against the constitution, however much they may arraign his discretion, or question the necessity for

so harsh a measure. No one could have reprobated it more severely than I have done. Every man in this country has a right to exclaim, *nolumus leges Angliæ mutari!* it is the motto of the great family of England, and every Englishman is bound by duty, by interest, and by honour, to bear it on his banner, and wear it in his heart: I feel assured that it was in conformity with this principle, that Mr. Pitt acted when he proposed the unpopular bill. I feel assured that his intention was to preserve, not to destroy, the constitution by that measure; and that the blackest guilt, for the foulest purpose, could alone have attributed it to any other design. Men are accustomed to view all objects in a very different light from each other, and if it is meant to take the dimensions, or have an accurate idea of the figure of any object, it is not the side that presents itself first to the sight, that is alone to decide our judgment. Mr. Pitt, as a Minister, stands in a very different predicament to all other men; he is invested with a trust of a very high and solemn nature; it is no less than the comfort, security, and complicated interests of an entire people, and these interests perpetually clashing discordant and dangerous notes. A new set of opinions are afloat in the world, and these opinions, some of them very just, others of them wild and impracticable, and some altogether as atrocious are at warfare with old opinions, and long-established prejudices. If the dark ages of ignorance are fit seasons for impostors,



postors, times of public tumult are no less so, and without recurring to French history, we may find within the sea-girt shore of Britain, men of that description, who without fortune or honest industry, hope to find a lucrative harvest in civil broil, and will labour for that purpose whenever the occasion offers. The London Corresponding Society have too great a respect for truth not to acknowledge that such men have insinuated themselves into their company, and that they have purposes in view very different from what the Society avows. These men have held tenets in debating societies and at public meetings incompatible with the existence not only of this government, but of all government, and which tenets would be more mischievous in the event to those who listened to them, than to those against whom they were principally levelled; it was under these circumstances; it was under the apprehension of being involved in civil as well as foreign contest, that Mr. Pitt, pressed by the magnitude and proximity of the danger which he dreaded, came forward and encroached upon one part of the constitution, in order to preserve the whole. Such is the impression under which the Minister appears to me to have acted, and such the light in which his conduct will appear to those who dispassionately combine all the extraordinary circumstances of the case, and considering them in this view together, they may, perhaps, think that the measure he adopted was the best he could have chosen. I very much doubt,

doubt, and it is a question worthy of his prudence, to consider whether it is at all times good policy to combat extremes by extremes. It is also a question worthy of his wisdom, and no less so of his patriotism, to inquire, how far it will conduce to the preservation of the constitution, to resist the equitable and well-founded claims of the people, to that judicious and temperate reform which he promised to procure, and which he is bound in honour to obtain ? It is perhaps the most effectual way to suppress those clubs and meetings which have spread such general alarm throughout the country ; it will at all events take away from bad men, all pretext for clamour ; and while it fortifies the good, infuses a century of new life into the constitution. When these meetings were deprived of their legality, and when Ministers and both Houses of Parliament pronounced them to be dangerous to the state, it was incumbent on Ministers and on Parliament, to have inquired how far the abuses of which those meetings complained were founded in truth ; how far they were oppressive in their operation, and finally, whether the people had a right to complain ? If, on inquiry, it appeared that these abuses had an existence ;---that their operation was painful, and that the people were entitled to redress, the wiser measure would have been to have removed the grievances. It was a line of conduct which was no less due to discretion than to justice.

Force may, for the moment, stifle complaint, but never can subdue it; on the contrary it acquires strength from time, and vigour from age; and, finally, speaks with most miraculous organ, for it reverses the condition of subject and of sovereign, and teaches government the virtue of submission.— To what extent that reform, and the retrenchments expected are to be carried, are not for me to discuss; all I contend for is, that the reform had better take place *within doors* than *without*. I do not mean a rapid reform, a tearing up by root and branch, roses and weeds promiscuously, and without reserve; but that sober gradual reform which gives force, vigour, and health, as well as life; and I am the more anxious that this necessary reform, which must sooner or later take place, should be accomplished by Parliament, from the conviction I feel, that matter of such high import can only be agitated with safety and effect in a deliberative assembly, legally convened.

I have ever been a friend to parliamentary reform, and what might perhaps have been prejudice in the first instance, is now conviction, resulting from observation, and a better knowledge of the mode in which public business in this country is conducted; but though I am a friend to the measure of reform, it is my wish that it should be temperate and gradual; that it should be accomplished within the doors of Parliament, and not out of them.

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Main strength can at any period take the heaviest gate off the hinges, but it requires address to put it on again ; a promiscuous multitude can at all times display the former, but the latter belongs exclusively to a deliberative assembly, which combining force with ingenuity, can alone avert the evils of insurrection and anarchy.

Considering as I do, the measure of parliamentary reform as one of the means by which a revolution can alone be prevented, it cannot be pressed too strongly on the mind of every man in the House of Commons who has a stake in the country, and who has any well-founded pretensions to independence and rectitude. If the representatives of the people, inattentive to the temper of the times, and insensible at once to their duty, to their interests, and to the spirit and letter of the constitution, should spurn this wholesome solitary alternative, and the Minister, an accomplice in their guilt and folly, should persist in the fatal error which pride, avarice, and vanity would consecrate to eternity, it will be found that the power will be ultimately wrested from Parliament by a set of men entirely unknown to us, and whose anger in punishing the fatal obstinacy that resisted the sober councils of right and expediency, will extend beyond the sacrifice of those whom they may stigmatise as delinquents.

It is to prevent a calamity of this magnitude, that I wish the House of Commons to undertake its own reform. The system of corruption must cease if it is meant to avoid an explosion. The venality of Parliament is no longer supposed, or cautiously insinuated; it is notorious; it is become the table-talk alike of the drawing-room and night-cellar; the representatives of the people have the folly and indecency to avow it, and the nation at large reproaches it in language that proves the House of Commons is very much lowered in the public opinion, and very far from being adored as it formerly was, and ought ever to be, as one of the palleads of British liberty.



## APPENDIX, No. XVI.

*To the Marquis of BUCKINGHAM, &c. &c. &c.*

14th Dec. 1792,

“ MY LORD,

“ I HAVE borrowed the inclosed pamphlets on purpose that your Lordship may peruse them, after which I shall intreat the favour of their being returned. The proposal which I made to the Duke of Leeds, in January, 1790, and which I alluded to in the letter I had the honour to address to your Lordship, was, that the union of Liege with the Austrian Netherlands, and the independence of both should be facilitated, acknowledged and guaranteed by this country, Holland, and Prussia. The advantages resulting from this measure would have been commercial as well as political—*toutes les entraves que la tête mal organisée de Joseph II. avait fait mettre sur le commerce eurent été levées*, and Holland would have had a broad and impenetrable barrier on the side of France, while happy to have been emancipated from the odious perfidy and tyranny of the house of Austria, the Flemings would have ratified the different

ferent treaties which condemn the Scheldt to roll its slumbering waters disgracefully to the sea, and the French would have had no pretence for invading Brabant. The result of my conference with his Grace convinced me more than ever, that the ideas of magnitude and futurity, as well as of right and expediency, are necessary furniture for every man's mind, to whom the interests of a nation are in any degree confided : what I proposed in 1790, and for which the people whose cause I pleaded would have been obliged to the British Ministry, is now accomplished, not only without their consent, but absolutely against it ; and with this advantage in favour of the former, that what they have acquired cannot be taken from them ; for whatever may be the event of the war, I will venture to predict that the power of the house of Austria in the Netherlands is extinguished for ever ; and for this plain and unanswerable reason ; that the people will no longer submit to its vexations, or be deceived by its professions !

“ The Duke of Leeds said it was going great lengths, but it was easy to foresee at the time, without the gift of prescience, that the spirit of freedom which had burst forth with such violence in France, would force the French into much greater lengths ; and that as a measure of prudence, independent of all other considerations, it was necessary

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to be before-hand, and anticipate what it might not be in our power afterwards to prevent.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ W. MILES.”

The following facts will shew what the Emperor lost, when his folly or madness drove his subjects in the Netherlands to renounce his jurisdiction.

Maria Theresa received in subsidies, or rather aids from the Low Countries, during the war that ended in 1763, the sum of seventy-five millions of German florins, which at 11 florins to the pound sterling, amounts to upwards of      sterling £6,818,181

The sums annually transmitted to Vienna from the Low Countries, after all the expences of their government were discharged (which seldom exceeded two millions) amounted to six millions of Brabant florins, the produce of the royal domains included      -      -      461,000

If sovereigns would well reflect on what they hazard, by forcing the people into revolt, it is fair to conclude that they would be more circumspect at least, if not more just.

The avaricious policy of Joseph II. by erasing the works of all the fortified towns in the Low Countries, exposed them to invasion and depredation, and his greater folly in vexing the clergy, the nobles, and the people, all at the same time, indisposed all ranks against him, and finally lost him the Netherlands; yet such was the infatuation of the man, that he imagined he could recover them by force, although the transport alone of each cannon that he sent from Vienna to subdue them, cost ten thousand Brabant florins, upwards of seven hundred pounds sterling; and when the most ordinary defensive wars in the Low Countries with the people in allegiance, cost the Court of Vienna annually one million one hundred and eighty-one thousand pounds sterling.

## APPENDIX, No. XVII.

“ THE marked aversion which has been shewn towards all those who were concerned in the first revolution, or that were well disposed towards it, joined to the very harsh treatment that some of them have received, gave an ugly feature to the war, and deprived this country of a resource which it was folly to have overlooked and criminal to have neglected. These men were branded by *over-loyal* men as rebels, and the whole of the terrible calamities which have since ensued, attributed to their revolt in the first instance. This is the invention of superstition and tyranny to prop their falling cause, and the slander must be refuted. There are three grand and glorious epochs in British story, to which the free-born mind always resorts in triumph. The concession of John to the Barons—Our emancipation from the vile fetters of Popery; and the revolution in 1688, to which the present family on the throne owe their elevation. Let us suppose that our gallant ancestors on all those occasions had been as unsuccessful, or that they had as ill-managed each important enterprise, as those, who with equal provocation and equal purity of intention, embarked in a

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similar



similar attempt in France and failed. Would the merit of the enterprize have been the less; would not the cause of fair and rational liberty have remained as pure and as sacred as ever? Would they, nay could they in justice, have been considered as the authors of all the horrible excesses into which other men, influenced by other motives, and who had usurped their places, had fatally plunged their country? All these epochs were marked by a sobriety and firmness that gave additional lustre to their cause; and is there an Englishman, so vile a slave, so lost to every sense of virtue, and of shame, as to dare publicly to avow that the cause of our intrepid ancestors would have been less just if they had been less fortunate? I am sure that there is not; I am sure that their honest natures would feel indignant at the question, and resent it as an affront to the proud manes of their ancestors. These reflections are meant to awaken those to a more liberal conduct, in whom every departure from right, is charged with a treble portion of infamy.

“ It appears that all the courts of Europe have conspired against the hapless victims of the first revolutions in France, and as far as such a conduct will admit the inference, against the general happiness and freedom of mankind. The royalists of 1789 are held in as little estimation

at the British court; as at the court of Vienna,\* whose maxims and resentments in matters of this nature, the former will do well to avoid; this is not the language of disaffection, but of truth, and above all, of that loyalty, which in the hour of danger (pray heaven avert the calamity) may be depended upon. I love my sovereign, and it is from the love I bear him that I wish to see his reign happy and glorious, and his life prolonged, till life itself shall cease to be desirable.

“ The conduct of ministers towards those gentlemen who espoused the cause of the French revolution in the first instance, independent of its injustice, has been extremely impolitic. The party to which they were attached, included all those, who combining a love of liberty, with a love of order, were willing to marshal themselves under the standard of royalty. Their attachment was to well-defined, limited monarchy,  
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\* How strangely ordered are the affairs of this world! These gallant men are every where proscribed for having supported their clear and undeniable claim to what they derive from God, not man, while the Princess of Orange, the legitimate sister of the King of Prussia, who encouraged revolt in the subjects of a sovereign, her neighbour, with whom she was in friendship, and who was certainly competent to preserve the accustomed relations of peace and

the only monarchy that reason legitimates, for monarchy without responsibility is tyranny. The cause of M. de la Fayette and his party, was in fact, the cause of every sovereign in Europe. That party was extremely numerous, and its resources were great ; it was the only party with which wisdom would have united itself, if it

amity, has no stigma attached to her conduct by those who reprobate and persecute La Fayette and the wretched companions of his melancholy fortunes ! Vandernoot and Van Eupen were in Brabant what La Fayette and his friends were in France ; yet what is their sad story, and how different is their fate ! I will not inquire of fallen greatness if any remorse is felt on finding that perfidy which had been exercised towards others, brought finally home to itself ; but I will ask the Princesses of Orange, with what consistency she can reproach the French Convention with having excited a spirit of revolt in the Seven Provinces, charged as she is with a similar guilt, aggravated by treachery ? At the time that she caballed with the insurgents in Brabant, and allowed them to assemble at Breda, she had a minister not only on the spot where she was in confederacy with rebellion ; but at the court of the Sovereign whom she was endeavouring to despoil of his dominions ! If the conduct of M. de la Fayette, in endeavouring to secure by positive written laws, as in those happy kingdoms, liberty to his country is criminal, what stigma can we find expressive of the double infamy of the Princesses of Orange ? What language shall we resort to for adequate terms of reproach to this deep intriguing dame, who, in a partnership worthy of her abandoned brother, has exposed the perfidy of courts in such strong blazon, that idolatry itself, recovered from delusion, stands aghast, ashamed of its folly !

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had meant to convert the internal distractions of France into the means of speedily terminating the war, as policy certainly dictated; but their aid was spurned through the poisonous influence of their haughty and incorrigible countrymen, awake only to their revenge, and whose malignity was augmented by the wild councils of their imposture of a Messiah, whom they fondly believed, was working their redemption, while he was only working dissensions in the kingdom, and pensions for himself. All the moderate party, forming a vast mass, in France, and out of it; this formidable body of men, disposed to admit of monarchy on the same terms as we have done, found themselves every where shunned, reprobated, and reduced to the alternative of becoming republicans or slaves, and chose, as we would have done, I trust, under similar circumstances, the former in preference to the latter. But this was not the only evil resulting from the marked contempt and proscriptions with which this party was treated. The conduct of ministers gave a pretext to the slander of their enemies, and justified, in some degree, the report, that the object of the war was to restore the ancient system, in all its plenitude of guilt. The Duc d'Harcourt, the Bishop of St. Pol de Leon, and the whole of the French committee, with whose views and manœuvres I am not totally unacquainted,

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held no other language. They disdained all compromise, and played the desperate game of *tout ou rien*—all or nothing—not with their property but with our's. The countenance given to this description of Frenchmen, who were not less indiscreet in their conversation than extravagant in their pretensions, exposed Ministers to an odium which I hope they do not deserve. The impracticability, not to say the impossibility of restoring the ancient despotism in France, at any period since the 14th of July 1789, has been as obvious as the iniquity of the measure itself, and this alone should rescue Ministers from the infamy which falsehood would attach to their councils and conduct. In a word, though they cannot in justice be charged with crimes, they have been grossly misled and deceived, and to an extent, that may preclude the possibility of repairing the errors they have committed, unless their future councils are marked by more justice and discretion."



## TRANSLATION

*Of M. LE BRUN's Letter to the Count*  
DE TRAUTTMANSDORFF.

“ MY LORD,

“ THERE was a happy time when your immediate influence on the government general of the Low Countries left you every means of having an injustice towards us repaired.

“ It is not yet a year, it is not even eight months since your Excellency could have assured us without obstacle, and obtained for us without delay, the restitution of all we have lost, for having too warmly espoused the cause of the late Emperor. If you had done it, my Lord, the service would not have been lost to your Excellency, we should have at this day the pleasing satisfaction of proving to you that we are not ungrateful.

“ We do not mean at present to persuade your Excellency that it would have been the interest of the House of Austria to have satisfied us completely

pletely on this head. If necessary, we could give our motives for it, and prove, that if we had been indemnified for our past losses and future risks, we should then have been able to employ proper means to determine the fermentation in favour of the sovereign, in spite of the intrigues of both parties. No, this is not the time for discussing that question, but the time is come to inform you, my Lord, that it is always the interest of government, particularly when it is bound to account for its actions to a supreme head, not to disdain the well-founded representations of men of letters, chiefly of those who are in possession of the public opinion. The government of the Low Countries has, as your Excellency knows better than any other person, violated this political maxim with regard to us. If we were vindictive, the opportunity now offers of being revenged, and we might avail ourselves of it: but the *gall* of revenge shall never disturb the serenity of our minds; this passion is beneath us; it is much more pleasing to be useful, and we have always endeavoured to be so; *and such is our determination in a very delicate affair which concerns your Excellency, and which seriously involves other distinguished persons: but as it is full time that we should seriously think of repairing the breach made in our fortune, there must be an accommodation between the persons concerned and us, in order that we may co-*  
*operate*

*operate in rescuing them from certain disgrace.*—  
—Particularly now for having spoken in favour of Leopold; for having strove to preserve partisans for him, we find ourselves again the victims of our attachment to the House of Austria, and that as our reward our journal is again prohibited, forbidden, and stopped in all the provinces, which, within these two or three months, has occasioned us a loss of from 4 to 500 louis.

“ The business which concerns you, my Lord, relative to us is this. A person, whose name you will perhaps guess, but whom we cannot as yet mention, has proposed to us to draw up a memorial in defence of the late General Count d’Alton, and has for that purpose remitted to us papers of the utmost importance. Amongst other things we find in them many original letters, partly from your Excellency, partly from certain other persons attached to interests, which were not altogether those of the sovereign, ministerial dispatches, reports, &c. We will not conceal from you, Sir, that *an able hand* might make a terrible use of this collection, every piece of which bears an incontestable stamp of authenticity. They may serve, not only to justify completely the Count d’Alton, but also to ruin several persons in the public opinion, as well as in that of the King of Hungary,

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and to impeach more than one as responsible for the actual loss of the Belgic Provinces.

“ It is an easy matter to conjecture, from the accounts which we possess, that you, my Lord, have been hurried on by a junto whose plans and object you were not aware of. This junto existed before you were appointed minister, and the person who directed it, a man most dexterously ambitious, had formed a plan for laying hold of your Excellency on your arrival in the Netherlands: this was the most difficult part, he then easily continued to direct you; the rock was perhaps unavoidable. Any other but a man bred up from his infancy to the great principles of administration, to those principles of enlightened philosophy, which at present direct the National Assembly of France, would have split on this rock; and if the revolution had not been completed, your Excellency and the general of the army would have been sacrificed; such was the object. Things having taken a different turn from what was expected, it was not the interest of your attendants to commit you, and it was thought easier and shorter to sacrifice General d’Alton.—He died, but not soon enough for his enemies; for he had time to prepare an avenger, and to deliver into his hands some terrible instances of court intrigues: happily this man has applied to us for our support.

port. *Your interest, my Lord, requires that this affair should be entirely quelled, and that at ANY PRICE the publication of the memoir, intrusted to us, should be prevented ; but you will easily understand that this end is not to be obtained WITHOUT EXPENCE.*

1. *“ Mr. d'Alton's friend must be gained over, for he has employed every precaution to prevent being taken unprepared. He has deposited an authentic copy of all his papers in Holland ; he has another in his own hand ; we have one also, and the originals are soon to be put in a place of safety. But if we are supported we can promise to gain him over to our views, and to terminate the business to your satisfaction.*

2. *“ For giving up the advantages which we are sure to gain by composing and publishing this memoir, we must be handsomely indemnified.*

We own to you, however, that if we had obtained our indemnification at a proper season, we should have blushed to put a price on this service ; but the injury we have sustained by this tacit refusal of your Excellency, is incalculable, and we are distressed. Consult with yourself, my Lord, and consult the other persons not less interested, that nothing should transpire, and let us know immediately



mediately your intentions. But in the mean time, as the distance at which you are asunder would leave too long an interval between your mutual answers, and that which we expect from your Excellency, we beg you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter by the return of the post, and *we promise you to suspend the business until then.* At all events, if M. d'Alton's friend cannot be brought to capitulate, we have other means of serving your Excellency, which we will explain to you when necessary.

(Signed)

“LE BRUN.”

F I N I S.







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